



# **GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE**



A

# GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

BASED MAINLY ON VARARUCHI'S PRAKRITAPRAKĀṢA

BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(*Premchand Roychand Scholar*)

Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,  
Calcutta University, Author of *The Successors of the*  
*Sātavāhanas*, *Select Inscriptions*, etc., etc



PUBLISHED BY THE  
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1943

68156

Printed in India

Published by the University of Calcutta and Printed by J C Sarkhel, at the  
Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta

त्यक्तस्य प्राप्तमोक्षायै माते निराश्रयस्य मे ।  
संसारदावदग्धस्य सुतस्येयं नमस्कृतिः ॥



# CONTENTS

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Page</i>
PREFATORY NOTE	ix
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	1
CHAPTER I. THE VOWELS	8
NOTES · Phonetic Changes—Prākṛitaprakāśa— Pāli	14
CHAPTER II. SINGLE CONSONANTS	16
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli	22
CHAPTER III. THE CONJUNCTS	23
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli	31
CHAPTER IV. MISCELLANEOUS RULES (Sandhi, Taddhita, etc.)	33
NOTES Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli—Hemachandra— Epigraphic Prakrit	39
CHAPTER V. DECLENSION OF NOUNS	42
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli—Hemachandra— Epigraphic Prakrit	48
CHAPTER VI. DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS AND NUMERALS	54
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli—Hemachandra— Epigraphic Prakrit	62
CHAPTER VII. CONJUGATION	69
NOTES : Prakrit Moods and Tenses—Prākṛitaprakāśa— Pāli—Hemachandra—Epigraphic Prakrit	74



<i>Subject</i>	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER VIII. PRAKRIT SUBSTITUTES FOR	
SANSKRIT ROOTS ... ..	81
NOTES : Prākṛitaprakāśa—Hemachandra ...	89
CHAPTER IX. INDECLINABLE PARTICLES ...	91
NOTES : Hemachandra ... ..	94
SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS	
CHAPTER X. PAIŚĀCHĪ ... ..	94
NOTES : Hemachandra—Chūlikā Paiśāchī ...	96
CHAPTER XI. MĀGADHĪ ... ..	97
NOTES : Hemachandra—Ardha-Māgadhi ...	100
CHAPTER XII. ŚAURASENĪ ... ..	101
NOTES : Hemachandra ... ..	105

## APPENDIX

PURUSHOTTAMA: Śauraseni Bhāshā—Prāchyā	
Bhāshā—Āvantī Bhāshā—Māgadhi Bhāshā—Śākārī	
Vibhāshā—Chāṇḍālī Vibhāshā—Śābarī Vibhāshā—	
Ṭakkadeśīyā Vibhāshā—Nāgaraka Apabhraṃśa—	
Vrāchaḍa and Other Apabhraṃśas—Kaikeya	
Paiśāchika—Śaurasena and Other Paiśāchikas ...	106
HEMACHANDRA: Apabhraṃśa ...	121
ADDENDA EI CORRIGENDA ...	125

## PREFATORY NOTE

The present work forms a sort of supplement to the Prakrit portion of the *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, to which the author originally intended to append it. As a matter of fact, printing of the earlier sections was almost complete before it was decided to publish the following pages as a separate volume.

The aim of the author is principally to introduce the Prakrit language to students who have to study the epigraphs written in that language. An attempt has been made in these pages to describe Prakrit as it was known to the earlier grammarians Vararuchi, Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha, with special reference to Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the works of such medieval authorities as Hemachandra and Purushottama. The author's scheme will be clear from a glance at the notes appended to the chapters on declension and conjugation. As for instance, declension of a number of noun bases has been provided in the notes on Chapter V, in a tabular form, not only according to the system of Vararuchi, but has also been quoted from Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the grammar of Hemachandra. The minor Prakrit dialects described by Hemachandra and Purushottama have been discussed either in the notes on relevant chapters or in the Appendix. If the following pages be of some use to the students of Prakrit inscriptions, the author will consider his labours amply rewarded.

Owing to inconvenience caused by domestic troubles and the abnormal situation now prevailing in the country, the author has not been able to avoid misprints and errors. For these he craves the indulgence of readers. Any suggestion for improving the usefulness of the work will be most welcome.

पूर्वाचार्यग्रन्था नोत्सृष्टाः कुर्वता म- म् ।  
तानवलोक्येदं प्रयत्नं कामतः सुजनाः ॥  
अथवा मृशमपि सुजनः प्रथयति दोषार्णवाद्गुणं दृष्ट्वा ।  
नीचस्तद्विपरीतः प्रकृतिरियं साध्वसाधूनाम् ॥

Department of Ancient  
Indian History and Culture,  
Calcutta University.  
*The 30th March, 1943.*

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

## A. GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

**Introductory.** Prakrit or the *Prākṛita-bhāṣā* indicates the common or ordinary speech, or the language of the common people. The word *prākṛita*, literally "non-artificial," points to the difference between this language and the literary or ceremonial language that was thought to be artificial. It is generally believed that Prakrit is merely a corrupt form of the Sanskrit language. This view has been found to be erroneous. The common speech of the Vedic Aryans which apparently differed in some respects from the literary language of the *Samhitās* (that was gradually becoming archaic) is no doubt the origin of the so-called Prakrit language. The ordinary speech of a people is liable to gradual change in course of time.<sup>1</sup> The language of the common people of the early Vedic age changed continually and after several centuries assumed the form which we call Prakrit. Sanskrit (= *samskrita*, the refined speech) is the reformed, literary and elegant form of the same language at an early stage of its development. This refined language was based on the speech of the cultured people (*śiṣṭa*), standardized by grammarians, the school of Pāṇini (c. 5th century B. C.) of Gandhāra having been especially responsible for its final and stereotyped form. Great religious teachers like Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, as also their followers, preached their doctrines in the ordinary speech of the people. Prakrit was also the court-language in early times. These are some of the causes that led to the growth of a polished and literary form of Prakrit which is known from epigraphic, classical and grammatical literature. Pāli, the scriptural language of the Hinayāna Buddhists, and *Āraha-Prākṛita* (usually called *Ardha-Māgadhī*)<sup>2</sup> the language of the early Jain Sūtras are also similar literary dialects based on Prakrit.

---

1 Economy of effort or tendency to simplification, progressive refinement in courts, cities, etc., softening-influence of the climate and the influence of non-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan speech—these are supposed to have caused the Prakritic changes. The dative case-affix, the dual number, the imperfect, perfect and aorist tenses, declensions excepting the type of *ā*-stems, conjugations excepting the type of the *bhūdāt* class, etc., etc. were gradually disappearing from the common speech of the people.

2 The language of the Jain religious literature is not the same as the so-called *Ardha-Māgadhī* of Sanskrit dramas. The language of the Digambara canon is called Jain Sauraseni, while the non-canonical books of the Svetāmbaras are written in what is called Jain *Mahārāṣṭrī*.

Philologists have divided the history of the Indo-Aryan languages into three periods, viz. Old, Middle or Medieval, and New. The speech of the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period is represented by the language of the Vedas as well as the spoken dialects on which the diction of the Epics and also the highly polished (*samākrīta*) literary language called Sanskrit were based. The Medieval or Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period is represented by Pāli and the Prakrits comprising all dialects of the age beginning with the time when certain phonetic changes and grammatic variations had produced a language different from OIA, down to the time when further phonetic changes and break up of the old grammatical tradition had led to the growth of a new type of language similar to that of the modern Indo-Aryan dialects which represent the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) period. The Prakrit period is further divided into three stages, viz. Old, Medieval or Middle, and Late. The Old Prakrit stage includes Pāli, and the Prakrit of the inscriptions, of the oldest Jain *Sūtras* and of early Sanskrit dramas like those of Aśvaghoṣa. The Middle Prakrit stage is represented by the Prakrit of the classical Sanskrit dramas, of works like Hāla's *Sattasaī* and Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, and of the Prakrit grammars. Unfortunately no sufficiently old Mss. of early works like those of Kālidāsa are available, and the Mss. at our disposal are not quite reliable for the Prakrits. A literary dialect called Apabhramśa is known from the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.; but the Late or the full-fledged Apabhramśa stage was reached by the ordinary colloquial speech when the Prakrit of the dramas and grammars had already become archaic as also stereotyped owing to the efforts of grammarians. The living Apabhramśa dialects no doubt represent the earliest stage of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Apabhramśa is elaborately described by Hemachandra in the 12th century A.D., but the Muslim chroniclers speak of verses in the *Lughat* (or *Jawān*) *Hindī* (i.e., Hindi) composed by the Chandella contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd (997-1030 A.D.). 'Amīr Khusraw refers to Ma'sūd ibn Sa'd (d. 1121 or 1180 A.D.) as an author of Hindi verses.

Indian grammarians have usually approached the Prakrit language from their stand on Sanskrit grammar, because their works were usually meant for the students of Sanskrit dramas who were expected to have a fair knowledge of the Sanskrit language and grammar. Prakrit words and roots were therefore divided into three classes, viz. *tat-sama*, (those which have no literal difference with Sanskrit words and roots), *tad-bhava* (those which are apparently derived from Sanskrit), and *deśī* or *deśaja* (those which have no real or apparent relation with Sanskrit). The rules of Prakrit grammar are also shaped after the pattern of those of Sanskrit grammar.

Scholars have recognised the existence of two Indian schools of Prakrit grammarians belonging respectively to the west and the east. The former is sometimes called the School of Vālmiki and the latter that of Vararuchi. To the western school belong the *Sūtras* traditionally ascribed to the author of the *Rāmāyana* (though in its present form it is apparently a late work composed or compiled by Trivikrama), and its commentaries the *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa* by Trivikrama (c. 13th century A.D.), the *Shāḍbhāṣā-chandrikā* by Lakṣmīdhara and the *Prākṛita-rūpāvatāra* by Simharāja. The earliest known Prakrit grammar of the western school is the eighth chapter of the *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* by the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A.D.) of Gujarat, whose *sūtras* are independent, but follow the same system. To the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians belongs the *Prākṛita-prakāśa* by Vararuchi who is traditionally known to have been one of the Nine Gems of king Vikramāditya (—Chandra Gupta II, 376-414 A.D.). The earliest commentaries on this work are the *Prākṛita-mañjarī* by Kātyāyana (c. 6th-7th century A.D.) and the *Manoramā* by the Kashmirian Bhāmaha (c. 7th-8th century)<sup>1</sup>. Some scholars believe that Kātyāyana was another name of Vararuchi or that he was the real author of the *PP*. It is however possible to suggest that the work was actually composed in the glorious days of classical Sanskrit drama about the time when the works of Kālidāsa (4th-5th century A.D.) were on the stage; but the first compilation of the *sūtras* may have been due to Kātyāyana. Later important works of this school are the *Prākṛita-kāmadhenu* (comm. *Prākṛita-lankeśvara*) by Laukeśvara, the last chapter of the *Sankṣiptasāra* by Kramadīśvara, the *Prākṛita-saṅgītanī* by Vasantarāja, the *Prākṛitānuśāsana* by Puruṣhottama (12th century) of Bengal, the *Prākṛita-kalpataṛu* by Rāmaśarmā (c. 17th century) of Bengal and the *Prākṛita-sarvasva* by Mārkaṇḍeya (c. 17th century) of Orissa. Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the following authorities on the subject—Śākalya, Bharata, Kōhala, Vararuchi, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja and others. The two schools of Prakrit grammarians differ from each other in many respects. The most important points of difference are that their *ganas* rarely agree and that their accounts of the Paisācī Prakrit are mutually inconsistent. The western school has its own Paisācī with several dialects and treats the Paisācī of the eastern school as an insignificant variety called the Chūhikā

1 That Kātyāyana is earlier than Bhāmaha is not only suggested by the three interpolated chapters (PP., X-XII) recognised by the latter, but also by some *sūtras* which the two commentators read differently; cf. IV, 23, V, 5; VI, 31, 94, VIII, 2, etc.

*Paīśācī*; while the *Paīśācī* of the eastern school has seven different dialects none of which agrees with any of its varieties described by the westerners. Some other works on Prakrit grammar are Chanḍa's *Prākṛita-lakṣhaṇa* (considerably old, according to scholars), Hrishikeśa's *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa*, Durgāchārya's *Shaḍbhāṣhā-rūpa-mūlikā*, Śeṣhakṛishṇa's *Prākṛita-chandrikā*, Appayadīkṣita's *Prākṛita-maṇi-dīpa*, the *Prākṛita-lakṣhaṇa* ascribed to Pāṇini, the *Shaḍbhāṣhā-mañjari*, the *Shaḍbhāṣhā-vichāra*, the *Shaḍbhāṣhā-suvantādarśa*, etc. Some of the works on Prakrit grammar are lost.

Excepting certain sections of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>1</sup>, the text of which is extremely corrupt and useless for practical purposes, the earliest extant Prakrit grammar is the PP. All other extant works were written when Prakrit was already a dead language. These later authors had no doubt traditions to help them; but the real authorities for their rules, so far as they added to the rules of old grammarians (many of whose works had been lost), were Prakrit works (then surviving) of authors who were long since dead. They formed their rules by an analysis of the forms contained in these works. The value of the rules of the later grammarians therefore depended largely on the Ms. material at their disposal, and it is not impossible that in some cases at least they have been misled by wrong readings in the Mss.<sup>2</sup> As the earliest Prakrit grammar, probably written in a period when Prakrit was still a living language, the PP has a value of its own. That it cannot explain all the peculiarities of the Prakrit language used in inscriptions (belonging to the period ranging from the 4th century B C to the 4th century A. D.) or in classical Sanskrit dramas (whose Mss. are much influenced by the traditions established by later Prakrit grammarians) seems to be due to the facts that the provincial peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit were possibly outside its scope and that in point of date the PP. stands midway between the two classes of literature<sup>3</sup>.

1 In its present form, however, the NS. which mentions *Mahārāshṭra* cannot be earlier than the 5th-6th century A.D. Reference to the dramatic Prakrits, the *Māgadhī*, *Avantī*, *Prāchyā*, *Saurasenī*, *Ardha-Māgadhī*, *Bāhlikī* and *Dākṣhiṇātyā* as *bhāṣhā*, and the *Śākāri*, *Ābhīri*, *Chāṇḍālī*, *Śābarī*, *Drāmīlī* and *Āndhrī* as *vibhāṣhā* suggests a considerably later date.

2 Hemachandra's *hitapaka* (IV, 310, *infra*, X, notes) seems to be a mistake for *hitayaka*.

3 It must be admitted that some inscriptional forms can be explained by a later grammar, but not by the PP; e.g., the form *tūṭhika* (Pallava); cf. Hem., I. 104. The conjuncts used in Aśoka records as well as in the Kharoshthī ins. cannot be explained by the PP., but for some of them, cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, notes. The Prakrit grammars were mainly written for the dramatic Prakrits.

It is interesting to note that the earliest Prakrit grammar is only the first nine chapters of the extant PP, which have been commented on by Kātyāyana. Vararuchi and Kātyāyana therefore recognised only one standard form of the literary Prakrit language and ignored the regional or tribal peculiarities as such. This standard Prakrit, described by later grammarians as the Mahārāshṭri variety of Prakrit speech, seems to have been a sort of *Lingua Franca* more or less intelligible to the stage-audience in different parts of India. Chapters X-XI of the PP, dealing respectively with the Paisāchi and Māgadhi dialects, were added to the original work either by Bhāmaha himself or by an unknown grammarian who lived between Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha. Chapter XII of the PP, which describes the Sauraseni Prakrit has not been commented on even by Bhāmaha and is thus a still later interpolation, although the existence of Sauraseni is recognised by the author of ch. X, 2 and ch XI, 2. But these three supplementary chapters were probably added to the PP. before the time of Hemachandra who in his grammar treats not only of Mahārāshṭri, Sauraseni, Māgadhi, Ardha-Māgadhi, Paisāchi and Chulikā Paisāchi, but also of Apabhramśa. But the conventional number of the varieties may have been actually higher about this time. The *Sāhitya-darpana* (14th century) refers to the Sauraseni, Mahārāshṭri, Māgadhi, Ardha-Māgadhi, Prāchyā, Avantikā, Dākṣiṇātyā, Śākari, Vāhiki, Drāviḍi, Abhiri and Chāṇḍālī varieties of the Prakrit language; the *Prākṛita-lakṣeṣvara* enumerates Udīchi, Mahārāshṭri, Māgadhi, Mīśr-Ardha-Māgadhi, Śākābhiri, Śrāvastī, Drāviḍi, Auḍriyā, Pāschātyā, Prāchyā, Vāhlikā, Rantikā, Dākṣiṇātyā, Paisāchi, Avanti and Sauraseni; while the *Prākṛita-chandrikā*, refers not only to Mahārāshṭri, Avanti, Sauraseni, Ardha-Māgadhi, Vāhlikā, Māgadhi, Dākṣiṇātyā and Apabhramśa, but also to the 27 varieties of Apabhramśa, such as Vrāchaḍa, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Avantiya, Pāñchāla, Tākka, Mālava, Kaikaya, Gauḍa, Auḍra, Daiva (Haiva, Haimavata?), Pāschātya, Pāṇḍya, Kauntala, Saṃphala, Kāluga, Prāchyā, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñcha, Drāviḍa, Gaurjara, Abhira, Madhyadeśiya and Vaidāla. Lakṣmidhara again says that the Paisāchi language was spoken in the Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kauntala, Sudeśa, Bhoṭa, Gandhāra, Haiva (Haimavata?) and Kannojana (Kamboja or Kanauj?) countries. It will be seen that this regional or tribal classification is not quite satisfactory. The grammarians who lived after Vararuchi and Kātyāyana had no doubt to recognise the growing provincial or dialectic influence on Prakrit Mss. and on the pronunciation of Prakrit words, and conventional traditions (not always quite scientific) were gradually taking shape. As Prakrit was then a dead language, it is no wonder that the authors are often mutually inconsistent. They are sometimes unable to



demonstrate the actual difference between two dialects and vaguely characterise them as having *sūkṣma-bheda*. It is apparent that some late writers referred to the early stages of the modern Indian languages (including Dravidian languages more or less influenced by Indo-Aryan) as Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa. But primarily the regional or tribal classification seems to have been based only on some important (but not in all cases compulsory) peculiarities of a dialect. A study of the inscriptions and the modern dialects which can both be classified regionally and in many cases also tribally shows that the classification favoured by grammarians is not quite scientific and satisfactory. It is to be noted that inscriptions and dialects belonging to Mahārāṣṭra, Magadha and Śūrasena have characteristics other than those of the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Sauraseni Prakrits. Note, *e.g.*, the rule regarding the use of *n* for *ṇ*. As regards the dubious nature of some grammatical traditions, we may also point to the *ya-śruti*. It is said that when a consonant is elided, Mahārāṣṭrī usually retains the inherent *a*, but Ardha-Māgadhi makes it *ya*. This rule is repudiated not only by modern Marāṭhī, but also by inscriptions from the Mahārāṣṭra area, cf. *nāya*=*nāya* (Nanaghat), *rājā*=*rāyā* (Nanaghat, Basim), etc'. As regards the Māgadhi substitution of *r* by *l*, it has been rightly pointed out that "the modern dialects of Bihār and Bengal have not replaced every *r* with an *l*. Perhaps this rule for dramatic Māgadhi is conventional exaggeration of a marked tendency of the Eastern dialects." Some of the linguistic peculiarities attributed to the Late or Apabhraṃśa period or even to later date are again actually noticed in very old inscriptions, *e.g.* *paṃdarasa* for *pañchadaśa* in the Hathigumphā inscription (about the end of the 1st cent. B. C.), cf. Pāli *pannarasa*; Prakrit *pannarasa*, *pannaraha*; Hindī *pandrah* (\**pandaraha*). Cf. also the inscriptional forms *tera*, *choda*, *athāra* (Nāgārjunikonda, 3rd cent. A. D.), etc.

It is possible to get together an enormous number of grammatical forms from the Prakrit inscriptions, to discover a system under which they can be arranged and to write a grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit after European or the orthodox Indian model. But the aim of the author of the present work is not so much to write a grammar of the Inscriptional Prakrit as to draw the attention of students to a comparative study of the Prakrit language found in inscriptions, literary works and grammars. It is hoped that the *sūtras* of the *PP.* with comments on their relations with other forms of Prakrit

1 Hem., I, 180 allows *ya-śruti* for Mahārāṣṭrī only when the preceding vowel is *a*. For *ya-śruti* in Aśokan records, cf. *bhikkhupāye*, *nikūṭhiya*, etc. Pāli. *khāyita*, etc. The change of *ṛ* to *y* is a Māgadhi characteristic (*infra*, XI, 4)

speech would serve this purpose fairly satisfactorily. An intelligent student would be able moreover to frame his own rules for a skeleton grammar of the language of the selected Prakrit records with the help of the word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* supplied with all of them. But the following facts would suggest that a comprehensive grammar of inscriptional Prakrit may prove rather complex to persons for whom this book is actually intended. The *Selection* represents only a fragment of the large number of Prakrit inscriptions so far discovered and does not offer all the peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit. There are in many cases mistakes (apparent or doubtful) due to the scribe or the engraver. In many inscriptions the language is more or less influenced by Sanskrit. Some of the dialects represented (e.g., the language of the Central Asian documents) can only be treated separately. In a large number of records whose preservation is not exceptionally satisfactory, the vowel-marks and the *anusvāra* are doubtful. Early epigraphic records have usually avoided the use of double consonants and sometimes also of the *anusvāra* and of conjuncts, though all of them were apparently pronounced in reading out the epigraphs. Inscriptions written in the Kharoshthī script have usually no *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc., which were no doubt pronounced. They moreover freely modify the sound of a consonant by a sign resembling the subscript *r*. A noteworthy feature of the inscriptional Prakrit is the abundant use of the *svārthika ka* and the Dravidic name-suffixes *amṇaka* and *amṇikā* with occasional use of the *sāpekṣa* and *mayūra-vyamsaka samāsas*. It is also to be borne in mind that the inscriptions are earlier than the *PP*. Elisions of consonants are therefore not universal, but conjugational forms of various tenses, etc., are used more frequently. Transformation of the sonant into surd and of the surd into sonant in some districts where sometimes the aspirates lose their aspiration (due to Dravidian or Iranian influence) and non-aspirates are aspirated is also noticed. Cf *infra*, X-XI, notes.

In these pages we have followed the text of Bhāmaha's *Manoramā* as given in the *PP*, edited by E. B. Cowell (London, 1868) and that of Kātyāyana's *Prākṛita-maṇḍari* as given in the *PP*, edited by B. K. Chatterjee (Calcutta, 1914). Examples have been quoted from other works, especially Pāli grammar and the Prakrit grammar of Hemachandra (Bomb. Sans. Pr. Ser., No. XL, 1936, ed. R. Pischel, Halle, 1877). Authors later than the 12th century A.D. have however been only occasionally quoted, that is to say, their treatment of a particular dialect has not been elaborately followed. As for instance, our account of Paisācī, is based on Vararuchi and Hemachandra and late writers like Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmaśarmā have been practically ignored. No attempt has been made to make a *gaṇa* exhaustive, as the authorities differ widely on this.

point and as variations to a rule are found in literature and inscriptions. It may be noted that in referring to inscriptional words we have sometimes used double consonants instead of the single consonant of the original and have also ignored the sign resembling subscript *r* used to modify the sound of a consonant.

### वररुचि-कृतः प्राकृत-प्रकाशः

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।—अज्विधिः ॥

#### Chapter I—The Vowels.

Chapters I—IX describe the standard literary Prakrit which was known to later writers as the Mahārāshṭrī variety of Prakrit. This name refers to Mahārāshṭra, the modern Maṣāṭhā country. The name Mahārāshṭra is however not much earlier than the 5th-6th century A D. Mahārāshṭrī was considered to be the Prakrit *par excellence*. It is supposed to have represented the Deccan, i.e. the land to the south of the Madhyadeśa which is said to have been represented by the Sauraseni Prakrit. By convention, Mahārāshṭrī is the language of poetry and Sauraseni that of prose. In dramas, ladies of rank converse in Sauraseni, but use Mahārāshṭrī in songs.

— आदेरतः ॥१॥ “As regards the first *a* in a word.” This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (i.e., one having authority to be implied in succeeding *Sūtras*) of which “the first” applies to all *Sūtras* of the chapter excepting S. 14 and 23, while “as regards *a*” only to *Sūtras* 2-9.

— आ समृद्धयादिषु वा ॥२॥ In the words *samriddhi*, etc., *ā* is optionally used for the first *a*. The *samriddhyādi-gaṇa* is an *ākṛiti-gaṇa*, i.e. a class of words that is to be determined by observing the forms used in standard works. समृद्धि=समिद्धी, सामिद्धी; प्रकट=प्रकडं, पाकडं; प्रसुप्त=प्रसुतं, पासुतं; प्रसिद्धि=पसिद्धी; पासिद्धी; etc. For rules regarding the change of single consonants and conjuncts, see *in/ra*, II-IV.

इद् ईषत्-पक्-स्वप्-वेतस-व्यजन-मृदङ्गाङ्गारेषु ॥३॥ In the seven words *vetasa*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *a*—optionally according to K., but compulsorily according to Bh. ईषत्=ईष, इषि; पक्=पक्, पिक्; स्वप्=सविणो, सविणो; वेतस=वेडिसो, वेडसो (II. 8); व्यजन=विअणो, वअणो; मृदङ्ग=मुद्गं, मुअंगो; अङ्गार=इङ्गालो, अङ्गालो ॥ Hem. ललाट=णिडालं, गण्डालं ॥ Ins. मनाक्=मिन; मध्यम=मम्मिम; सुदर्शन=सुदिसना; राजाङ्गस=राजाणितो; एतस्य=एतिस; दिवस=दिविस; बाढ=बाडि; तस्य=

तिस्स ॥ Also तिरातमके [=तिराततमके]=तिरातिमए ; चतुर्दशी=चतुर्विंशति ; अष्ट=अष्टि ; अष्ट=अष्टि ॥ व्य of व्यजन actually belongs to the section on conjuncts (ch. XII). Cf. *infra*, III, 2, notes.

— लोपोऽरण्ये ॥४॥ In the word *araṇya*, the first *a* is elided. अरण्य=रण्यं ॥ See *infra*, S. 17(a). Cf. Ins. अपि=पि, वि ; अहम्=अहकं=इकं ; अधस्तात्=हेड ॥ Also इति=ति ; इदानीं=दाणि ; इव, एव=व ; उपवसथ=पोसथ ; उदक=दग ; उपान्ते=वति ; एनम्=णं ॥ नूनं, ननु=णं ॥ Hem. अलाडु, °वृ=लाड, लाळ ॥ Ins. सलु=लु(\*ल्लु), लो shows omission of the unaccented vowel. Cf. also लु(=च लु=चउ ; Cf. S. 9) ॥

ए शय्यादिषु ॥५॥ In the words *śayyā*, etc., *e* is substituted for the first *a*. शय्या=सेजा ; सौन्दर्य=मुन्देरं ; तयोदश=तेरह ; उत्कर=उक्केरो ; आश्चर्य=अच्छेरं ; पर्यन्त=पेरन्तं ; वल्ली=वेल्ली ॥ Ins. मर्यादा=मेजाता ; अन्तःपुर=अतेउर (Pāli. अन्तेपुर ; Hem. अन्देउर) ; निश्चय=निश्चेय ॥ Note that the substitution of *a* by *u* has been ignored. Cf. Ins. उदुपान ; मोक्ष्यमुत ; प्रबु ; भगवतु ; तुतो ; सवभु ; आपुणो ; विवदु ; रजघर्मु ; धडु ; अवगमुक ; उचवुच ॥ Hem. प्रथम=पुडुमं, पुढमं, पडुमं ; खरिडत=खडिओ, खडिओ ॥ Cf. also नमस्कार=नमोकारो ; परस्पर=परोप्परं ॥ Note that in Sanskrit *u* and *ṛ* are shorter forms of *o* and *e* respectively; but the vowel preceding a conjunct is always short in Prakrit.

ओ वदरे देन ॥६॥ In the word *vadara*, the first *a*, together with *d* and its inherent vowel, becomes *o*. वदर=वोरं ॥

लवण-नवमल्लिकयो वैन ॥७॥ Var lect. °नवमल्लिक° ॥ In the words *lavana* and *navamallikā* (or *navamālīkā*) the first *a*, together with *v* and its vowel, becomes *o*. लोणं ; शोमल्लिआ (or शोमल्लिआ) ॥ Cf. the feature called *sampra-sārana* (*infra*, notes).

मयूर-मयूखयोर्वा वा ॥८॥ In the two words, *mayūra* and *mayūkha*, the first *a* together with the syllable *yū* becomes *o* optionally. मयूर=मोरो, मउरो ; मयूख=मोहो, मऊहो ॥ Ins. मजर (Aśokaṇḍ) ॥

चतुर्थी-चतुर्दश्योस्तुना ॥९॥ In the two words, *chaturthī* and *chaturdaśī*, the first *a* together with the syllable *tu* becomes *o* optionally. चतुर्थी=चोत्थी, चउत्थी ; चतुर्दशी=चोद्दी, चउद्दी ॥ Ins. चवुथ ; चतुदिसि ॥

— अद् आतो यथादिषु ॥१०॥ In the words *yathā*, etc., *a* is optionally substituted for *ā*. यथा=जह, जहा ; तथा=तह, तहा ; प्रस्तार=पत्थरो, पत्थारो ; प्राकृत=

पउअं, पाउअं ; तालवृन्तक=तलवेण्टअं, तालवेण्टअं ; उतक्कात=उक्काअं, उक्काअं ; चामर=चमरं, चामरं ; प्रहार=पहरो, पहरो ; चाडु=चडु, चाडु ; दावामि=दवग्गी, 'दावग्गी' ; खादित=खइअं, खाइअं ; संस्थापित=संठाविअं, संठाविअं ; हालिक=हलिओ, हालिओ.॥

**इत् सदादिषु ॥११॥** In the words *saddā*, etc., *i* is optionally substituted for *a*. सदा=सइ, सआ ; तदा=तइ, तआ ; यदा=जइ, जआ (cf. *infra*, II, 2) ॥ Cf. Ins. करमिन ; विपटिपादयमीन ॥ Also नमकेरो ; अहुनो, अहोनो ॥ Hem. माल=मेत्त ; आसारो, ऊसारो ; द्वार=देरं ॥

**इत् एत् पिरड-समेषु ॥१२॥** In words like *pinḍa* (i.e., when *i* is followed by a conjunct, according to Bh.), *e* (short *e*) is optionally substituted for *i*. पिरड=पेरडं, पिरडं ; निद्रा=येहा, णिहा ; विष्णु=वेणहु, विणहु ॥ Cf. S.5. note, S. 19. Ins. इष्ट=यिठो, एव=येव, etc. are due to the rare feature अ=य ॥ For *e* becoming *i*, cf. *infra*, S. 34.

**अत् पथि-हरिद्रा-पृथिवीषु ॥१३॥** In the three words, *pathin*, etc., *a* is substituted for *i*. पथिन्=पहो ; हरिद्रा=हलदा (Hem. हलदी, हलदा, हलिदी, हलिदा) ; पृथिवी=पुहवी (Hem. पुहई, पुहवी) ॥ Hem. I, 88. Cf. *infra*, S. 19, note.

**इतेस्तः पदादेः ॥१४॥** In the word *iti*, when at the beginning of a sentence, *a* is substituted for the *i* which follows the *t* (i.e. *iti* becomes *ita*; cf. II, 2)—optionally according to Bh. इति विकसन्त्यः चिरम्=इअ विअसन्तीउ चिरं ॥ It is suggested that the rule does not apply to such cases as प्रियः इति=पिअोत्ति ॥ K. reads आदेः (वाक्यादेः) instead of पदादेः ॥ Hem., I, 91.

**उद् इक्षु-वृश्चिकयोः ॥१५॥** In the two words, *ikṣhu* and *vriśchika*, *u* is substituted for *i*. इक्षु=उच्छु ; वृश्चिक=विच्छुओ (or विच्छुओ) ॥ Hem. जहुदिलो, जहिदिलो ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 39, notes.

**ओ च द्विधाकृतः ॥१६॥** *O* (as also *u*) is substituted in the word *dvidhā* when it is used with the root *kṛi*. द्विधाकृत=दोहाइअं, दुहाइअं ; द्विधाक्रियते=दोहाइअइ, दुहाइअइ (VII, 8) ॥

**ईत् सिंह-जिह्वयोश्च ॥१७॥** In the two words, *simha* and *jihvā*, *i* is substituted for *i*. जिह्वा=जीहा ; सिंह=सीहो ॥ Notes (1) A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short. मार्ग=मग्गो ॥ K. has दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वता नित्या संयुक्तोत्तरता यदि (on PP, IV, 1); of. Hem. ह्रस्वः संयोगे ॥११८॥ (2) When the length of the vowel is retained, the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision.

ईश्वर=इस्वर, ईसर ॥ (3) Sometimes a short vowel followed by a conjunct becomes long and the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision. जिह्वा=जीहा ; विश्वस्त=वीसस्त ; विश्रम्भ=वीसम्भ । Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उत्तमदात ; वर्ष=वास ; आगत्य=आगाच ; चिकित्सा=चिकीक्षा ; इन्द्र=ईद ; सप्तम=सातम ; रज्जुक=राजूक ॥ K. has ह्रस्वस्यापि क्वचिदीर्घः । (4) When the *anusvāra* is elided, it leaves a short vowel lengthened. सिंह=सीह ॥ Ins. सिंहल=सीहल ; सङ्गवीसति ; वीस ; वंश=वास ॥ This is due to the fact that *anusvāra* was considered equal to a nasal consonant. Hem. लो सिंघो ; संघारो ; सिंहदत्तो ॥ etc. (5) In some cases the vowel instead of being lengthened takes an *anusvāra* (cf. *infra*, III, 56; IV, 16). अधु=अंशु ॥

— इवे लोपः ॥१७ क ॥ The *i* in *iva* is always elided. राजा इव=राभाव ॥ This Sūtra is omitted by Bh.

— इद् ईतः पानीयादिषु ॥१८॥ In the words *pānīya*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *i*. पानीय=पाणिअं ; अलीक=अलिअं ; तदानीं=तआणिं ; करीष=करिसो ; तृतीय=तइअं ; द्वितीय=दुइअं ; गभीर=गहिरं ॥ Ins. दुतिय, बितिय ॥ Cf. इदानीं=Śauraseni दाणिं=Ins. दानि (Nasik) ॥ Ins. इह=इध (Śauraseni), हिद् is due to the aspirative feature अह (cf. आह=अहति=हहति) ॥

एन् नीडापीड-कीदशोदशेषु ॥१९॥ In the four words, *nīḍa*, etc., *e* is substituted for *i*. नीड=शेड् (or शेड') ; आपीड=आमेलो (II, 16), कीदश=केरिसो ; ईदश=एरिसो (Aśokan Ins. एदिस, हेदिस, हेडिस ; cf. S. 18, note) ॥ Cf. Hem. हरीतकी=हरडई ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 39, note.

— उत्त तुण्ड-रूपेषु ॥२०॥ In the words *tuṇḍa*, etc., *o* (short *o* before a conjunct) is substituted for *u* (i.e. *u* followed by a conjunct, according to Bh.). तुण्ड=तोण्ड' ; मुक्ता=मोत्ता ; पुष्कर=पोक्खरो ; पुस्तक=पोत्थओ ; मुरब्=मोण्ड' ॥ Ins. पोराणा ; मोखिय ; खो(=खलु=खलु) ॥ शूर्पारक=शोर्पोरग ॥ C. Asian बहो ; अतिबहो ; अहोने ; स्फुर=खोर ॥ Aśokan उक्त=वुत्त is due to the early trait अ=व (cf. S. 12, note) ॥ Hem. स्थल=थोर' ; मूल्य=मोल्लं ॥

उलूखले स्वा वा ॥२१॥ In the word, *ulūkhala*, *u* with the syllable *lū* becomes *o* optionally. उलूखल=ओक्खलं (Bh.), ओहल' (K.); उलूहल' ॥

अन् मुकुटादिषु ॥२२॥ In the words *mukūṭa*, etc., *a* is substituted for the first *u*. मुकुट=मउड' ; मुकुल=मउल' ; गुरु[क]=गरुअं ; गुर्वी=गरुई ; युधिष्ठिर=जहि-दिलो ; उपरि=अवरि ॥

इत् पुर्वे रोः ॥२३॥ In the word *purusha*, *i* is substituted for the *u* following *r*. पुरुष=पुरिसो ॥

उद् उतो मधूके ॥२४॥ In the word *madhuka*, *u* is substituted for *a*. मधूक=महुअं ॥ *Infra*, II, 27.

अद् दुकूले वा लस्य द्वित्वम् ॥२५॥ In the word *dukūla*, *a* is optionally substituted (with the doubling of *l* for *ū*). दुकूल=दुअल्लं, दुकलं ॥ *Infra*, II, 2.

एन् नूपुरे ॥२६॥ In the word *nūpura*, *e* is substituted for *ū*. नूपुर=नेअरं ।

> अतोऽत् ॥२७॥ *A* is substituted for the first *r* (but only when it is joined to a consonant). तृण=तणं; वृणा=वणा; मृत=मअं; वृद्धो=वद्धो; वृषभ=वसहो; मृदु=मअ; कृष्ण=कअहो ॥ The following Sūtras suggest the substitutes *i*, *u*, *r* and *ru* for *r*. Ins. वृक्षा=वृक्षा; दृढ=दृढ; मृग=मृग; व्याघ्रत=वियघ्रत, etc. indicate an earlier stage when the elision of the *r* inherent in *r* was only optional. Metathesis in respect of this *r* is sometimes noticed in the Kharoshthi records of Aśoka. कृतकता=कट्कत; वृद्ध=वुध (cf. धर्म=धम; प्रियदर्शी=प्रियदरशि) ॥

—इद् अघ्यादिषु ॥२८॥ In the words *rishi*, etc., *i* is substituted for *r*. ऋषि=इसी; दृष्टि=दिहि; सृष्टि=सिहि; शृङ्गार=सिङ्गारो; मृगाङ्क=मिअङ्को; भृङ्ग=मिङ्गो; हृदय=हियअं; वृधिक=विङ्गुओ; शृगाल=सिआलो; कृषि=किरी ॥ etc Ins. रिसि (Nasik) ॥

—उद् अत्वादेषु ॥२९॥ In the words *ritu*, etc., *u* is substituted for *r*. ऋतु=उद् (II, 7); मृगाल=मुणालो; पृथिवी=पुह्वी ॥ etc Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उसभदात (Hem. उसहो, वसहो); पठवि (cf. S. 13, note) ॥

—अयुक्तस्य रिः ॥३०॥ The syllable *r* is substituted for *r* when initial and not joined to a consonant. ऋण=रिणं; ऋद्ध=रिद्धो ॥

—कचिद् युक्तस्यापि ॥३१॥ The syllable *r* is sometimes substituted for *r* even when it is joined to a consonant. ईदृश=एरिसो; सदृश=सरिसो; तादृश=तारिसो; कीदृश=केरिस ॥ etc.

—वृक्षे वेन र्वा ॥३२॥ In the word *vrksha*, the syllable *ru* is substituted for *r* together with *v*. वृक्ष=वक्खो ॥ According to Bh., *ru* is not substituted in the alternative. वृक्ष=वक्खो ॥ Cf. Ins. and Pāli: मृगुकल्ल=मरुकल्ल ॥

लुप्तः कल्ल इति ॥३३॥ In the word *khṛpta*, *u* is substituted for *h*. कल्ल=किलिसं ॥ The above rules show that *r* and *h* are not used in Prakrit.

एत इद वेदना-देवरयो ॥३४॥ In the words *vedanā* and *devara*, *i* is optionally substituted for *e*. Cf. S. 5, note. वेदना=विअना, वेअना ; देवर=दिअरो, देअरो ॥ Ins. एका=इका ; एक=इकीक ; केनसित=किनडु ; कलि=काले ; कुवेरक=कुविरको ; एतेन=एतिना ॥ Cf. also Aśokan एवम=हेवं ; एतादृश=हेडिस ; एवमेव=हेमेव (see S. 11, note) ॥

— ऐत एत् ॥३५॥ *E* is substituted for the first *ai*. शैल=सेलो ; कैलास=केलासो ; शैवल=सेअल ॥ *Au* and *ai* are not used in Prakrit. Aśokan स्थविर=थैर, तयोदश=लैडस, समचर्य=समचैर indicate the pronunciation थइर, etc. Hem. also कहलासो ॥

— दैत्यादिष्वह ॥३६॥ In the words *daitya*, etc., *ai* is substituted for the diphthong *ai*. दैत्य=दइचो ; चैत=चइतो ; भैरव=भइरवं ; वैशाख=वइसाहो ; चैत्य=चइत्त ॥ Ins. वैशाख (Nasik), चेतिय ॥ ऐ=अइ and औ=अउ (*infra*, S. 42) are said to be a Mahārāṣṭrī characteristic, not found in Śauraseni and Māgadhī.

दैवे वा ॥३७॥ In the word *daiva*, *ai* is optionally substituted for the diphthong *ai*. दैव=दइवं, देव्वं (III, 52). Hem. also gives दइव्वं ॥

इत् सैन्धवे ॥३८॥ In the word *saindhava*, *i* is substituted for *ai*. सैन्धव=सिन्धवं ॥ Hem. शनैश्चर=सनिच्छरो ; सैन्य=सेन्नं, सिन्नं ॥ Pālī इस्सरियं ॥

ईद् धैर्ये ॥३९॥ In the word *dhairya*, *i* is substituted for *ai*. धैर्य=धीरं (III, 13 and 54) ॥ Ins. एकैक=इकीक, एकीक ॥ Ins. तैथिक=तूथिक ; but cf. Hem. तीर्थ=तूहं, तित्थं ; हीन=हूण ; विहीन=विहूण ॥

ओतोऽद् वा प्रकोष्ठे कस्य वः ॥४०॥ In the word *prakoshtha*, *a* is optionally substituted for *o*, and, when the substitution takes place, *k* becomes *v*. प्रकोष्ठ=पवडो, पओडो ॥ Note—Medial *o* becomes *u* usually before a conjunct. Ins. वयुस्सव ; सोयुत्तरो ; आसोर्याम=आतुया(य्या)म ; सर्वोद्यान=सवूयान (*supra*, S. 17, note) ॥ Also एकुनवीस ॥

— ओत् ओत् ॥४१॥ *O* is substituted for the first *au*. कौमुदी=कोमुई ; कौशाम्बी=कोसम्बी ॥ Ins. ओखुड, ओयुक्क ॥

— पौरादिष्वउ ॥४२॥ In the words *paura*, etc., *au* is substituted for the diphthong *au*. पौर=पउरो ; कौरव=कउरओ ; पौरुष=पउरुसो ॥ The *paurāḍi-gaṇa* is an *ākṛiti-gaṇa* (*supra*, S. 2, note). Ins. पौर=पोर (Nasik) ॥ According to Bh. कौराल may be both कउसलो and कोसलो ॥



आच गोरवे ॥४३॥ In the word *gaurava*, *ā* (as also *au*) is substituted for *au*.

गौरव=गारवं, गउरवं ॥ Ins. पौलिन्द=पारिंद ( II, 30, note ) ॥

उत् सौन्दर्यादिषु ॥४४॥ In the words *saundarya*, etc., *u* (usually followed by a conjunct) is substituted for *au*. सौन्दर्य=सुन्दरं ; शौड=सुंडो ; दौवारिक=दुव्वारिको ॥ Ins. गौलिमक=गुलिमक ; दौत्साय=दुत्तियाय ॥

### NOTES

**Summary.** Prakrit has all the vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of ऋ, ॠ, लृ, लृ, ऐ and औ ॥ ए and ओ are long vowels in Sanskrit; but they are either long or short in Prakrit. They are always short before conjuncts. एक ; तेक ; जोव्वण , भूमिण ज्जेव्व ; इदो ज्जेव्व ॥ ऋ is usually changed to रि, अ, इ or उ ॥ रिण, केरिस, तण, दिदि, पुह्वी ॥ ऐ becomes ए, अइ, इ or ई ॥ केलास, दइव, सिन्धव, धीर ॥ औ becomes ओ, अउ or उ ॥ कोमुई, पउर, सुन्देर ॥ उ becomes ओ and ओ becomes उ. पोत्थओ, सोणुत्तरो ॥ इ, ई become ए, and ए becomes इ. सेन्दूर, शेइ, इकीक ॥ A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short; but the conjunct becomes a single consonant, if the length of the vowel is retained. मग्गो, ईसर ॥ When a conjunct becomes a single consonant, the preceding short vowel is lengthened. जीहा ॥ Elision of *anusvāra* leaves the preceding short vowel lengthened. सोह ॥ It should be noted that most of the rules of Prakrit grammar are optional, 'as variations are noticed in other sources. The *ganas* are hardly exhaustive. Some interesting features of Inscriptional Prakrit are not noticed by grammarians.

**Phonetic changes.** Cf. *P.P.*, chapters I-IV, especially ch III which deals with conjuncts. Changes in a language generally take place in the following ways. The examples are quoted from Pāli. (1) **Assimilation** When two different consonantal sounds meet and cannot be easily pronounced, one of them is modified to facilitate pronunciation (e.g. धर्म=धम्म). Sometimes both the sounds are modified (e.g. त्याग=चाग). In many cases (Progressive As.) the first letter of a conjunct is doubled (e.g. मुक्क=मुत्त), but in others (Regressive As.) the second letter (e.g., प्राप्नोति=पप्नोति): (2) **Dissimilation.** When there is a recurrence of the same sound or sounds formed in the same way, one of them is changed into a dissimilar sound. लाङ्गल=नङ्गल ; पिपीलिका=किमीलिका ; ललाट=नलाट ॥

(3) **Analogy.** Sometimes words are made on the analogy of other words. सुवचः=सुवचो, cf. दुर्वचः=दुर्वचो ; कायेन=कायसा, cf. मनसा ॥ (4) **Compensation.** When a consonant in a word is dropped, one of the vowels is sometimes lengthened or another consonant is added to compensate the loss of accent. अर्हत्=अरहा ; प्रतिकूल=पटिकूल ; परिषत्=परिसा ॥ (5) **Metathesis** (वर्णविपर्यय, स्थितिपरिवृत्ति). Sometimes the arrangement of letters in a word is altered. मशक=मकस ; हृद=रहद (Pr. दह) ; ररिम=रंसि ॥ (6) **Anaptyxis** or **Vowel-augmentation** (विकर्ष, विप्रकर्ष, स्वरभक्ति). To separate the consonantal sounds in a compound consonant (e.g. ई, र्य), sometimes a vowel is inserted. अर्हत्=अरहा ; महार्ह=महारह ; भार्या=भरिया ; आर्य=अरिय ॥ (7) Often a letter or a group of letters is substituted by another letter or group of letters. (8) The change of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *α* (essentially of *ya* to *i* and *va* to *u*) is called *Samprasāraṇa*. भवति=होति ॥ (9) Sometimes in Prakrit आर्य=अरिय=अयिर=अइर=ऐर=एर ॥ This metathetic feature is called *Epenthesis* which also indicates consonant-augmentation.

**Vowel changes in Pāli.** Pāli is an ancient literary Prakrit and most of the early Pāli works belong to the same age as the inscriptions Pāli-Prakrit and epigraphic Prakrit have therefore many phonetic peculiarities in common. Vowel changes in Pāli are indicated below for easy reference and comparison ऋ=अ । मृत=मत ; धृत=धत ; कृषि=कसि ; कृपण=कपण ॥ ऋ=इ । ऋषि=इषि ; ऋण=इण ; तृण=तिण ॥ ऋ=उ । ऋतु=उतु ; मृदु=मुदु ; वृषभ=उसभ ॥ ऋ=ए । गृह=गेह ॥ ऋ=र, व । वृक्ष=रक्ष ; वृहत्=ब्रहा ॥ ऐ=इ । ऐश्वर्य=इस्सरियं ॥ ऐ=ए । मैत्री=मेत्ती ॥ औ=उ । औत्सुक्य=उत्सुकं ॥ औ=ओ । औषध=ओषधं ॥ Long vowels are universally shortened before conjuncts and the *niggahita* (*anusvāra*). कार्य=कज्ज ; खाद्य=खज्ज ; लता=लतं ॥ अ=ए । अन्न=एत्थ ; अन्तःपुर=अन्तेपुर ; फल्गु=फेगु ; शय्या=सेज्जा ॥ अ=इ । तमिस्रा=तिमिस्सा ; कस्य=किस्स ॥ अ=उ । पर्जन्य=पज्जुन्न ; सद्यः=सज्जु ; उन्मज्जति=उम्मुज्जति ॥ अ=ओ । सम्मर्ष=सम्मोस ॥ आ=ए । प्रातीहार=पाटिहेर ॥ इ=अ । पृथिवी=पठवी ; गृहिणी=घरणी ॥ इ=ए । विहिता=विहेसा ; विरबभू=वेस्सभू ॥ इ=उ । गैरिक=गेरुक् ॥ ई=अ । कौसीथ=कोसज्ज ॥ ई=आ । तिरश्चीन=तिरच्चान ॥ ई=ए । क्रीडा=खेला ॥ ई=उ । छीव्=छुभ ॥ उ=अ । गुरु=गरु ; स्फुरति=फरति ॥ उ=इ । From झु, खिपति ॥ उ=ओ (usually before conjuncts) । उल्का=ओक्का ; पुस्तक=पोत्थक ॥ ऊ=आ । अकुटि=भाकुटि ॥ ऊ=इ, ई । भूयः=भिम्यो,

मीयो (cf. Ins. मुइ) ॥ ऊ=ओ । ऊर्ज=ओज ॥ ए=अ । म्लेच्छ=मिलच्छ ॥ ए=आ ।  
केयूर=कायूर ॥ ए=इ (usually before conjuncts) । प्रतिवेरमक=पटिविस्सक ; उद्वेलापित=  
उद्विलापित ॥ ए=ओ । अतिप्रगे=अतिप्पगो ॥ ओ=उ । ज्योत्स्ना=जुएहा ; द्रोह=दुई ॥

### द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।—अयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

#### Chapter 11—Single Consonants.

—अयुक्तस्यानावौ ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules apply to single and non-initial consonants.

—क-ख-ज-त-द-प-य-वां प्रायो लोपः ॥२॥ The nine consonants *k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* (or *b*, cf. Hem. बो वः १।२३७ ; Ins. दुवादस, बे, etc.) when single and non-initial are usually elided मुकुल=मउलो ; नकुल=णउलं ; काक=काओ ; सागर=साओरो . नगर=णओरं ; वचन=वओणं ; सूची=सूई ; गज=गओ ; रजत=रओदं ; कृत=कओं ; गदा=गओा ; मद=मओो ; कपि=कई ; विपुल=विउलं ; नयन=णओणं ; जीव=जीओं ; दिवस=दिओहो ॥ There is no elision where the euphony is satisfied. प्रियगमन=पिओगमणं ; सचाप=सचावं ; अपजल=अवजलं ; अयशः=अजसो ; सबहुमान=सबहुमानं ॥ Why "single"? शक=सको ; मार्ग=मगो ॥ Why "non-initial"? कमल=कमलं ; गन्ध=गन्धो ॥ S 7 and 20 (also 24 and 26, cf. XII, 3.) provide for the change of surds into sonants This characteristic is more frequent in inscriptions. Cf. Ins. निरर्थिय ; हिदलोग ; पललोग ; परित्तिदितु ; किछि ; अजला ; अठभागिय ; अवलपेयु ; धुष ; लिबि ; मजूर ; कंबोय ; सोचये, सोचवे ; चावुदस, चोदस ; अतपतिये ; धमरइए ; कर्त्तिय ; कर्मिग ; उवासग ; उआसिअ ; आगत=अयदे ; नायनिका ; किछि ; संकुजमछे ; अयरिय ; पिसाजीपदक ; छिनिद ; अविय ; रय ; हिदछुल ; विसव ; युजेवू ॥ मालयेहि ; सेसयो ; पपेस ॥ तोष=दोस ; यथा=अथा ; यम्=अं (Aśoka) ॥ किञ्चित्=ईचि ; करणीय=गरणीय (U. Asia) ॥ Many records show the Paisāohī characteristic of the change of sonant into surd (X, 3, and notes). कंबोच ; वच ; निकम ; भक्वतो ॥ पारिचात (from पारियात ; cf. मयूर=मजूर ; भार्या=भारिया=भारिजा) ॥ Cf. *infra*, XI, notes.

यमुनायां मस्य च ॥३॥ In the word *yamunā*, *m* is elided. जउणा (S. 31) ॥ Hem. जँउणा ॥

स्फटिक-निकष-चिकुरेषु कस्य हः ॥४॥ Var lect. •चिकुर-शीकरेषु• ॥ In the words *sphatika*, *nikasha* and *chikura* (also *śikara* according to K.), *h* is substi-

tuted for the non-initial *k*. फलिहो (*infra*, S. 22); गिहसो ; चिहुरो ॥ K. सीहरो ॥

Ins. स्फटिक=फालिग ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 34.

शीकरे भः ॥५॥ According to Bh., *k* in the word *śikara* is substituted by *bh*. सीमरो ॥ K. prefers सीहरो (S. 4) and ignores this *Sūtra*.

चन्द्रिकायां मः ॥६॥ In the word *chandrīkā*, *m* is substituted for *k*. चन्दिमा ॥ This is due to the influence of Sans. चन्द्रमस् ।

क्रत्वादिषु तो दः ॥७॥ In the words, *ritu*, etc., *d* is substituted for *t*. ऋतु=उतु ; रजत=रअदं ; आगत=आअदो ; निर्दृति=निव्वुदी ; आश्रुति=आउदी ; सुकृति=सुइदी ॥ Note that the change of *t* and *th* respectively to *d* and *dh* is a universal Sauraseni characteristic (XII, 3). This feature is also usually noticed in inscriptions. Ins खादकं, सादवाहन, सदकणि (Nasik) ॥

प्रतिवैतस-पताकासु डः ॥८॥ Var lect. प्रतिसर० ॥ In the words *prati* (*pratisara*, according to some Mss), *vetasa* and *patākā*, *ḍ* is substituted for *t*. पडि ; वेडिसो ; पडाआ ॥ प्रतिच्छन्दः=पडिच्छन्दो ॥ When preceded by medial *r* or subscript *r*, *t* is usually changed to *t* in Asokan records. संपटिपती, कटे, भुटि, पटिना । Cf. *infra*, S. 20.

वसति-भरतयोर्हः ॥९॥ In the words *vasati* and *bharata*, *h* is substituted for *t*. वसही ; भरहो ॥ (1. Ins भारतवर्ष=भरधवस ॥

गर्भिते णः ॥१०॥ In the word *garbhita*, *n* is substituted for *t*. गर्भिणं ॥

ऐरावते च ॥११॥ In the word *airāvata*, *n* is substituted for *t*. ऐरावणो ॥

प्रदीप्त-कदम्ब-दोहदेषु दो लः ॥१२॥ In the words *pradipta*, *kadamba* and *dohada*, *l* is substituted for *d*. पलितं ; कलम्बो ; दोहलो ॥ दोहद also becomes दोहलो according to Hemachandra (cf *infra*, S. 35) Cf. Asokan लिपि=दिपि ॥

गद्गदे रः ॥१३॥ In the word *gadgada*, *r* is substituted for *d*. गग्गरो ॥

संख्यायां च ॥१४॥ In words expressive of number, *r* is substituted for *d*. एकादश = एआरह ; द्वादश = वारह (or बारह) ; त्रयोदश = तेरह ; अष्टादश = अष्टारह ॥ But the rule does not apply to conjuncts. चतुर्दश = चउइह ॥ Cf. S. 44.

Ins. सप्तति = सप्तरि (*supra*, S. 7) ॥ वारस, वारसम ; लेडस, लैडस, लोदस, तेरस, तेरसम ॥ Cf. Ins. तेर, चोइ, अष्टार (Guntur) ॥

पो वः ॥१५॥ *V* is substituted for a single and non-initial *p* शाप = सावो,

शपथ = सवहो ॥ But *p* is usually elided (*supra*, S. 2). Cf. Hem बो वः ॥ Cf. Asokan बाढम्=पठं ; विपुल = पिपुल ॥ प्रवेश = पपेस (Pallava) ॥ Cf. Paisāchī, *infra*; X, 8.

आपीडे मः ॥१६॥ In the word *aptiḍa*, *m* is substituted for *p*. आमेलो ॥  
Ins. सर्षप = ससम (?) ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 19, S. 23. Cf. Ins. कमठ = कफट ॥

उत्तरीयानीययोर्जो वा ॥१७॥ In the word *uttariya* and in words ending in the affix *aniya*, *y* is optionally substituted for *y*. उत्तरीय=उत्तरिज्जं, उत्तरीयं (*supra*, S. 2) ; करनीय=करणिज्जं, करणीयं ॥

छायायां हः ॥१८॥ In the word *chhāyā*, *h* is substituted for *y* according to Bh. छाहा ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Cf. colloq. *chuchā* in E. Bengal.

कबन्धे बो मः ॥१९॥ Var. lect. बो यः ॥ In the word *kabandha*, *m* (*y*, in some *Mss*) is substituted for *b*. कबन्ध=कमन्धो (or कयन्धो) ॥ Ins. एवम् = एम ॥

टो डः ॥२०॥ *Ḍ* is substituted for a non-initial *ṭ* नट=शडो ; विटप=विडडो ; कट=कड ॥

सटा-शकट-केटभेषु टः ॥२१॥ In the words *satā*, *śakuta* and *kaitabha*, *ḍh* is substituted for *t*. सढा ; सअढो : केढवो (S. 29) ॥

स्फटिके लः ॥२२॥ In the word *sphatika*, *l* is substituted for *t* फलिहो (*supra*, S. 4; S. 20; *infra*, S. 23) ॥

लस्य ल ॥२३॥ *L* is usually substituted for a single non-initial *ḷ*. दाडिम्ब=डालिमं, दाडिमं ; तडाग=तलाअं ; वडभी=वलही ॥ K. दाडिमी=दाडिमी, दालिमी ॥ For *l* becoming *ḷ* or *ḷ* (=r), cf. Ins. यमल=यमड ; पालीक=पाडिओ ; अलिन्द=अळन्दा ; महिला=महिडा ॥ See *infra*, X, notes. Ins. गुल, गहल ॥ NIA. ताल = ताङ ; ताली = ताङो ॥ ल = ळ ॥ Sans. ल is usually made ल in South India (X, n).

ठो डः ॥२४॥ *Ḍh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ṭh* (*infra*, III, 10, note). मठ=मढं ; जठर=जढरं ; कठोर=कढोरं ॥ Ins. माठरी=माढरी ॥ Cf. Ins. जठर ॥

अंकोठे लुः ॥२५॥ In the word *amkoṭha*, *ḷ* is substituted for *ṭh* अंकोळो ॥

फो भः ॥२६॥ *Bh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ph* शिफा=सिभा ; शेफालिका=सेमालिआ (Bong शिउलि ; colloq. शेमालिका in East Bengal) ; शफरी=सभरी ॥

यथादिषु हः ॥२६क॥ According to K, in the words *yathā*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ṭh* compulsorily. He suggests that S. 27 is optional यथा=जहा ॥ Similarly अन्यथा, इतरथा, etc. Bh. has ignored this *Sūtra*

**ख-घ-थ-ध-भां हः ॥२७॥** When single and non-initial, *h* is substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, and *bh*; but the substitution does not take place in the five words *prakhala*, *pralaghano*, *pātheam*, *dhanam* (i.e., in words like *a-dhana*) and *sabhā*, according to K. Bh.—मुख=मुहं ; मेखला=मेहला ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; राधा=राहा ; बधिर=बहिरो ; सभा=सहा ॥ Bh. explains the word “usually” implied here from S. 23 by suggesting the following examples where the rule does not apply प्रखर=प्रखलो ; प्रलङ्घन=प्रलङ्घणो ; अधीर=अधीरो ; अधन=अधणो ; उपलब्धभाव=उपलब्धभावो ॥ The change of the aspirates to *h* actually indicates the elision of the non-aspirate element, e.g. ख=क्+ह्+अ becoming ह=ह्+अ ॥ Cf. Ins. सुख=सूष ; परिहरेठ ; महारठि ॥ Cf. गुहा=गुफा, गुम्फा=कुभा ॥ Note the Sauraseni characteristic in XII, 3, and *infra*, S. 24 and 26. *Gh*, *dh* and *bh*=*h* is a very early trait. Cf. also Ins. अषड् ; गडिग ; मोकरि ; अंधापत ; महनुअव ; अबय owing to Paisācī influence in the North West and Far South Cf. Aśokan इह=इध, दिद ; इअ (later इयो) ॥ हस्ती=अस्ति (later अत्ति) ; मम=मह्=मअ ॥ Ins. चांतमूल ; संवचर ॥ Cf S 29, note.

**प्रथम-शिथिल-निषधेषु ढः ॥२८॥** In the words, *prathama*, *śithila* and *nisha-dha*, *dh* is substituted for *th* and *dh*. पढमो ; सिढिलो (NIA ढिला) ; निसढो । Ins प्रथम=पधम, पढम ; औषध=औसुढ ॥

**कैटभे भो वः ॥२९॥** In the word *kaitubha*, *v* is substituted for *bh*. केढवो (Bh), कइढवो (K.) । Not that the aspiration has only changed its place. In Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उषवदात, (Nasik), अभ्यवमत=अबोमत, मुख=मो (\*मुअ) (C. Asia); अभय=अबय (Ceylon), etc., the non-aspiration may (S. 27, notes) be explained by Paisācī (Iorengu, i.e. Dravidian and Iranian) influence ; see *infra*, ch. X.

**हरिद्रादीनां रो लः ॥३०॥** In the words *haridrā*, etc., *l* is substituted for *r*. हरिद्रा=हलहा (I, 13), चरण=चलणो ; मुखर=मुहलो ; युधिष्ठिर=जहिष्ठिलो ; सुकुमार=सोमालो (v.1 सुमालो) ; करुण=कलुणं ; अङ्गुरी=अङ्गुली ; अङ्गार=इङ्गालो ; किरात=चिलादो (S. 33) ; परिखा=फलिहा (S. 36) ; परिच=फलिहो (S. 36) ॥ The *Haridrādi-gaṇa* is an *ākriti-gaṇa* (cf. I. 2. note). Note that the change of *r* to *l* is universal in Māgadhī (cf. XI, notes). For *l* becoming *r*, cf. किर (IX, 5); Ins. अनारंभो ; तुरमाय ; पारिद ; थोरसिति ; उपरखित (?) ॥ Note the Sanskrit grammatic convention रलयोरभेदः and forms like लोहित=रोहित, लोम=रोम, etc. It is not known which of the two forms is earlier. Cf. NIA बाउरा ॥ आँचर, चाँचर, बेरि ॥ etc.

**आद्यैर्जो जः ॥३१॥** The *adhikāra* of "non-initial" (S. 1) ends here. *J* is substituted for an initial *y* (cf. XI, 4). यष्टि=जट्टी (Bh.; also लट्टी by S. 32); यशः=जसो (IV. 18) ॥ For further modifications of *y*, cf. *Asokan* मयूर=मजूर; यावत्=भाव; विषय=विसय; यथा=अथा; वसेयुः=वसेलु; अर्थाय=अथा; प्रतिपादयेयम्=पटिपादयेहं ॥ Ins. पारियात्र=पारिवात (cf. S. 2, note) ॥ निष्यय=निष्येय=निष्ये; प्रत्यय=प्रचे (U. Asia) ॥ Cf. augmentation in नातिक्य, षवामिक्य; दर्श्यन ॥

**यष्ट्यां लः ॥३२॥** In the word *yashṭi*, *l* is substituted for the first letter, i.e. *y*. लट्टी ॥ According to K., this *Sūtra* provides for an exception (*apavāda*) to S. 31. He therefore does not recognise Bh.'s alternate form जट्टी (S. 31).

**किराते चः ॥३३॥** In the word *kirāta*, *ch* is substituted for the initial *k* चिलादो ॥ Ins. चिलात; चिरातदत्त ॥ Cf. Tamil चेर=Sans. केरल ॥

**कुब्जे खः ॥३४॥** Var. lect. कुब्जे ॥ In the word *kubja* (*kuṇja* according to some Mss), *kh* is substituted for the initial *k* कुब्ज=खुब्जो ॥ V. 1 कुब्ज=खुब्ज ॥ Cf. अकर्कश=अखक्खस (*Asokan*) ॥ कुवेरक=खुविरक (*Bhatṭiprolu*) ॥ For aspiration, cf. Ins दण्ड=धड्ड; दिवस=धिवस; महाराज=महरस ॥ चिहित=छिनिद; दुहिता=धुदा, धिता are due to the elision of *h*.

**दोला-दण्ड-दशनेषु डः ॥३५॥** In the words *dolā*, *danḍa* and *daśana*, *ḍ* is substituted for the initial *d* (cf. XII, 31) डोला; डण्डो; डसणो ॥ Ins पार्षद=पासड; उदार=उडाल; द्वादश=दुबाडस; पञ्चदश=पंनडस ॥ Cf. Pāli डिण्डिम=देण्डिमो ॥

**परुष-परिघ-परिखासु फः ॥३६॥** In the words *paruṣa*, *pariḥa* and *parikhā*, *ph* is substituted for the initial *p*. फरुसो; फलिहो; फलिहा ॥

**पनसेऽपि च ॥३७॥** *Ph* is substituted for the initial *p*, also in the word *panasa*. फणसो ॥

**विसिन्यां भः ॥३८॥** In the word *visinī*, *bh* is substituted for the initial *v*. भिसिणी ॥ From the express mention of the feminine form, Bh. infers that the rule does not apply to the word *visa*.

**मन्मथे वः ॥३९॥** In the word *manmatha*, *v* is substituted for the initial *m*. वम्मथो ॥

**लोहले णः ॥४०॥** Var. lect. लाहले ॥ In the word *lohala*, *ṇ* is substituted for the initial *l*. शोहलो ॥ Var. lect. शाहलो ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*. Pāli, Ins. लाङ्गल=नंगल ॥

**षट्-शावक-सप्तपर्णानां छः ॥४१॥** Var. lect षट्-शात० ॥ In the words *shaṭ, śāvaka* (*śāta*, according to K.) and *saptaparna*, *chh* is substituted for the initial *sh, ś* and *s*. षष्ठी=छ्ठी ; षण्मुख=छम्मुहो ; शावक=छावक्रो ; सप्तपर्ण=छत्तिवर्णो ॥ K. षट्पद=छप्पदो ; शात=छातो ॥ Cf. Ins. शक्य=सकिये, चकिये, चक्ये (Asokan) शान्तमूल=चांतमूल ; शान्तिधो=चांतिसिरि (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. चुम्भ = चुम्भ (Pāli, Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. S. 20, note, Pāli. शव=छवो ; शाव=छापो ; शकृत् =छकं ॥

✧ **नो णः सर्वत्र ॥४२॥** *N* is substituted for a single *n* everywhere. "Initial" is no longer implied नदी=णई ; कणक=कणअं ; वचन=वअणं ; मानुष=माणुसो ॥ But cf. *n* in conjuncts (IV, 17) Note that in *Paṭidāhi* (X, 5), *n* is substituted for *n*.

➤ **शपो सः ॥४३॥** *S* is everywhere substituted for *ś* and *sh*. शब्द=सदो ; निशा=णिसा ; अ'कुश=अ'कुसो ; षण्ड=सण्डो ; वृषभ-वसहो ; कषाय=कसाअं ॥ Note that in *Māgadhi* (XI, 3), *ś* is substituted for *s* and *sh*.

— **दशादिषु हः ॥४४॥** In the words *daśa*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ś*. दश=दह ; एकादश=एआरह , द्वादश=वारह (or बारह) ; त्रयोदश=तेरह ; चतुर्दश=चउहह ; पञ्च-दश=पण्णरह ; षोडश=सोलह ; सप्तदश=सत्तरह ; अष्टादश=अठारह ॥ Cf. *supra*, S. 14. Ins. दुबाडस ; बारस ; पंनरस, पंनडस, पंदरस ; चोह, चोहम, चातुहस ; अठार, अठारस ॥ Note that some of the forms, though they look like late, actually occur in early inscriptions. Cf. also Ins. शक्तिध्री=हकुसिरि ॥ अय्यण्णशातकणि=हिरय्यमहातकणि ॥

**संज्ञायां वा ॥४५॥** When the word is a name. the substitution of *h* for *ś* is optional. दशमुख=दहमुहो, दसमुहो ; दशबल=दहबलो, दसबलो ; दशरथ=दहरहो, दसरहो ॥ Ins. दसबल ; दषलय (the *sh* may be due to confusion with the *ś* of *Māgadhi*; XI, 3) ॥

**दिवसे सस्य ॥४६॥** In the word *divasa*, *h* is optionally substituted for *s*, दिअहो, दिअसो ॥ Cf. Ins. संघ=हंघ (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ अभयस्य=अभयह (Ceylon) ॥ Cf. also दास=दम ; दासी=दमि ; दिवस=धिवम (N W. India, and C. Asia) ॥ The C. Asian modified *ś* as in तिबस् had probably a sound like *z*.

**स्नुषायां णः ॥४७॥** In the word *snushā*, *ṇh* is substituted for *sh* —optionally according to K. सोएहा (Bh) ॥ सोएहा, एहुसा (K) ॥ Actually however the change is of *sn* to *ṇh* (*infra*, III. 33). *Snushā* becomes *ṇhusā* which again becomes *suṇhā* and then *soṇhā* (I, 20) metathetically.



## NOTES

**Summary.** Prakrit (i.e. what is later called Mahārāṣṭrī) has all the consonants of Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *ś*, *ṣ* and *ṇ* (*ṇ* is seen as member of a conjunct) *ś* and *ṣ* become *s*, and *ṇ* becomes *n*. शैल=सेलो ; वृषभ=वसहो ; वदन=वअणं ॥ *Y* at the beginning of a word become *y* ; (यौवन=जोवणं) ; but single initial consonants are usually not changed. When single and non-initial, *k*, *g*, *c* *h*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *v* and *y* are usually elided, *o* become represented by the remaining vowel, but *t* and *p*, when not elided, become *d* and *v* respectively वदन=वअणं ; मुकुल=मउलं ; सुपुरुष=सुउरिसो ॥ etc कृपा=किवा, एतेन=एदिन ॥ Cf. Sauraseni features in ch XII, 3 Inscriptions however show change of surds into sonants, and also of sonant into surds लोक=लोग ; पिशाची=पिसाजी ; सुख=सूध ; व्रज=वच ॥ etc Cf. Pañcālī features in ch X.T becomes *ḷ* and *th* becomes *ḷh*, but sometimes *t* becomes *ḷ*, while *r* and *d* both become *l* प्रतिमा=पडिमा ; मुकुट=मउहो ; कठोर=कठोर, हरिद्रा=हलद्वा ; प्रदीप्त=पलित्तं ॥ *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh* and *bh* usually become *h* मुख=मुहं ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; बधिर=बहिरो ; राषभ=रासहो ॥ Note the following changes in regard to single consonants which are noticed, some frequently, but others rarely क=ह, भ, म, च । त=द, ह, ङ, ण । द=ल, र । प=व, म, फ । ट=ड, ल, ङ । ठ=ड, ल । फ=भ । भ=व । र, य=ल । म=व । ष, श=छ ॥

Final consonants are usually elided See *infra*, IV 6-19

**Consonantal changes in Pālī** ज=द । जिघत्सा=दिगच्छा ; ज्योत्स्ना=दोसिना ; जम्पति=तुदम्पति (cf. Sans दम्पति) ॥ च=त । चिकित्सा=तिकिच्छा ॥ त=ट । चेतक=चेटक ; प्रति=पटि ; दुष्कृत=दुक्कट ॥ ट=ळ । खेट=खेळ, घ्राटविक=आळविक ॥ थ=ठ । सिधिल=सठिल ॥ द=ल, ङ । दौहद, दोहद=दोहल ; उदार=उळार ॥ द=थ । खादित=खायित ; स्वादित=सायित ॥ य=व । त्र्यङ्गुलं=तिवङ्गुलं ; कियत्=कीव ; कुलायक=कुलावक ॥ य=व । जरायु=जलायु, पुय=पुञ्च ॥ य=भ । सरयू=सरभू ॥ य=र । श्रामणेय=सामणेर ॥ य=ल । यष्टि=लट्ठि ॥ य=ह । स्वयम्पति=सहम्पति ; रणजय=रणंजहो ॥ व=य । दाव=दाय ॥ व=प । लाव=लाप, प्रजावती=पजापती ॥ र=ल । रुद्र=लुद्द ; परिष=पलिष ; रोम=लोम ; सुकुमार=सुखुमाल ॥ श=छ । शाव=छाव ॥ The following changes are noticed क=क । क=ख, ग, ट य, व (or ब) । ग=क, घ । व=ह । च=ज, त । ज=च, द, य । ट=ठ, ड, ल, ङ । ण=न, ङ । त=ट, थ, द । थ=ट, ठ । द=ट, ड, त, य, ङ । ध=भ, ल, ह, ङह । न=ण, ल । प=क, व । फ=प । ब=प, भ, व । भ=ध, ह । य=अ, इ, ज, ल, व (or ब) । ल=न । व=उ । श=छ, ड । ष=छ, ङ । ह=ध, भ, ॥ ड, ङ=ङ्ह । See *Pālīprakāśa*, p. 52 ff.

## तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।—संयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

### Chapter III—The Conjuncts

— उपरिलोपः क ग ङ त द प य साम् ॥१॥ The consonants *k, g, d, t, d, p, sh* and *s* are elided when they stand first (i.e. above) in a conjunct. The remaining letter, if not at the beginning of the word, is doubled (S. 50) and in being doubled the second and fourth letters of a *varga* take respectively the first and third letters as their upper members (S. 51). The duplication does not take place when the conjunct is at the beginning of a word (S. 50) and when it is *r* or *h* (S. 54). This rule regarding the change by elision also applies to Vararuchi's rules regarding change by substitution (S. 9) भक्त=भक्तं ; सिक्थक=सिक्थक्यो ; मुग्ध=मुद्गो ; खड्ग=खगो ; षड्ज=सज्जो ; उत्पल=उत्पलं ; मुद्ग=मुग्गो ; सुत=सुतो ; पर्याप्त=पज्जतो ; गोघ्नी=गोद्री ; खलित=खलित्थं ; स्नेह=शेहो ॥ Cf. मुक्त (\*मुक्त?)=मुक्त ॥ Ins. सिनेह ; अनुविगिन ; पापुनाति ॥ शक्तिश्री=हकुसिरि ॥ धर्माधिष्ठान=धमधिष्ठान ; प्रतिष्ठापयति=प्रतिस्तवेति ॥ प्रतिष्ठापित ॥ Cf. *infra*, XI, notes Pāli. स्तम्भितत्व=छम्भितत्तं ; अस्तम्भी=अच्छम्भी ॥ शक्त=सक्तो ; पतिमुक्तो ॥ इन्दपत्तं ॥

— अघो मन-याम् ॥२॥ The consonants *m, n* and *y* are elided when they stand last (i.e. beneath) in a conjunct. The remaining letter is doubled (cf. S. 1, note) शुष्म=सोस्स ; रश्मि=रस्सी ; युग्म=जुग्गं ; वाग्मिन्=वग्गी ; नम=णग्गो ; सौम्य=सोम्मो ; योग्य=जोग्गो ; सिग्म=सिग्गं ॥ K. points out that when both S. 1 and S. 2 are applicable (as in सिग्म, नम, योग्य, etc.), S. 2 is to be followed. The *adholopa-vidhi* is thus more binding than the *uparilopa-vidhi*. The regulation regarding *y* is modified when it is in conjunct with *r* and *h*. As regards *nm*, and *mn*, cf. S. 43 and S. 44 respectively. Ins. अफे ; तफा ; अस्पि (S. 32a) ॥ In Ins. *ya* in combination is sometimes elided, sometimes retained (an old trait). Sometimes it becomes *uya* (or *ya, eva*) or *u*. Ins. कतव्य (and कतय्व ? Cf. S. 28n) ; कतविय ; उयान=उयान ; रमसिय ; निगोह ; परित्तित्तु ; अपवियाता ; इधीधियस्स ; अतियायिक ; अपतिय ; अरोगिय ; अरोगि ; शक्तिमुणि ; मूलि ; दोर्मेनस्त ; आननेय ॥ Cf. अर्थय=अथा ; सातवाहनिहार ; साताहनिरह ॥ Beng. निति ॥ Pāli. गुल्म=गुम्भो ॥ For *sm*, cf. S. 6.

— सर्वत्र ल-व-राम् ॥३॥ The consonants (*antastha-varna*, semi-vowels) *l, v* (also *b*, which is supposed to have no distinction with *v* in Prakrit) and *r* are.

always elided whether they stand first or last in a conjunct, and the remaining consonant is doubled (cf. S. 1 n ; S. 59ff). वल्कल=वल्कलं ; विक्रव=विक्रवो ; लुब्धक=लुब्धको ; पक्क=पक्कं (I, 3). अर्क=अर्को ; शक=सको ; स्वयं=सयं ; तीर्थ=तिर्थं ॥ K. points out that if, of the letters *l*, *v* and *r*, there is possibility of the elision of a succeeding one, the preceding one would be saved; that is to say, when *l* and *v* are for elision, the latter would be dropped; similarly *r* would drop when *l* and *r*, or *v* and *r*, stand for elision. पल्लव=पल्लवं ; ब्रीहि=ब्रीही ॥ K. further points out the more binding nature of S 2: कल्य=कल्यं ; काव्य=कव्यं ॥ Cf. गुर्वी=गुर्वी ; भार्या=भारिया (Paiśācī, X. 8); आसीर्याम=अतुयाम (Nanaghat); भग्या (Māgadhi, XI, 7. Nāgārjunikonda, N. W. India.) ॥ Ins. भारिजा ; पूजयितव्या=पूजयता ; कल्याण=कल्लाय, कल्याण (cf Māgadhi र्य=य्य) ॥ उद्यान=उयान (उय्यान, cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, notes) चतुर्याम=चतुंणं, चतुरहं ॥ आरभित्पा (and आरभिता ? Cf. S. 28, n.) हितत्पा ; स्पमिक ; परिचजित्पा ; तुलनया ; छवे ; तदात्पन ; पायमीना ; एकचपरिषा ; सर्वसप ; बे ; बित्तीय ; चत्पार ; बडस, द्वादस, दुवाडस ; पितुच्छा (also Pālī) ; स्पयुन ॥

> द्वे रो वा ॥४॥ In the conjunct *dr*, the elision of *r* is optional ब्रोह=ब्रोहो, दोहो ; चन्द्र=चन्द्रो, चन्दो ; रुद्र=रुद्रो, रुहो ॥

✓ सर्वज्ञ-तुल्येषु अः ॥५॥ In words like *sarvajña* (i o, words formed with *jñā* from the root *jñā*, according to commentators), *ñ* is elided; cf. S 44 सर्वज्ञ=सर्वज्जो ; इक्षितज्ञ=इक्षिज्जो ॥ Cf. Ins. सर्वज्ञ (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. Śaurasenī विज्ञ=विज्जो, विण्णो (XII, 7) ; सर्वज्ञ=सर्वज्जणो (XII, 8) ॥ Paiśācī ज्ञ=ज्ज (X, 9) ॥ Māgadhi ज्ञ=ज्ज according to Hemachandra (VIII, 4, 293).

श्मश्रु-श्मशानयोरादेः ॥६॥ The first letter of the words *śmaśru* and *śmaśāna* is elided. मस्त् (or मंस् ; IV, 15) ; मसाणं ॥ Ins. अश्मन्=अश्प(?) ॥ अश्मक=अस्सक (also Pālī) ; कस्मिर ; त्तिरिमि=तेरिण्ह ॥

मध्याह्ने हस्य ॥७॥ In the word *madhyāhna*, *h* is elided. मज्जणणो ॥

✓ ह-ह-होषु न-ल-मां स्थितिरुद्धम् ॥८॥ Var lect ह० ॥ In the conjuncts, *hn*, *hl* and *hm*, the letters *n*, *l* and *m* are respectively written after *h*. पूर्वाह्न=पुर्वहरहो ; अपराह्न=अवरहरहो ; कल्लार=कल्लारं ; आह्लाद=आल्हादो ; ब्राह्मण=बम्हणो ॥ Note that K.'s examples are actually of *hn*, not *hn*; cf S 33. Asokan ब्राह्मण=बम्हण ; बंभन ; बाभन ; बमण ; बमण ॥ Ins वमन ॥ Cf. metathesis in S 28n, and *infra*, Notes.

**युक्तस्य ॥९॥** This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (of. *supra*, I, 1, note), and the following rules are to be understood as supplying a substitute for a conjunct.

✓ **हस्य ठः ॥१०॥** *Th* is substituted for the conjunct *shṭ*. This is a modification of S. 1. दष्टि=लङ्घी ; दष्टि=दिङ्घी ; विष्टर=विष्टरं ॥ (cf. Ins. सेस्टे ; सेटगिरि ; तिस्तं तो (*infra*, XI, notes) ॥ अष्ट=अड ; निःश्लिष्टक=निसिंदय (cf. S. 24) ॥

**अस्थिनि ॥११॥** In the word *asthi*, *ṭh* is substituted for *sth* (cf. S. 1) अङ्घ्री ॥ Ins. अनुधित, अनुठित ॥ स्तिता ॥ Cf. निर्ग्रन्थ=निगण्ट ॥ Pāli. ठानं ॥

✓ **स्तस्य थः ॥१२॥** *Th* is substituted for *st* (cf. S. 1). हस्त=हृत्यो ; समस्त=समत्यो ; स्तुति=थुई (cf. S. 1, note) ; स्तवक=थवग्रो ; कौस्तुभ=कोत्युहो ; स्वस्ति=सत्थि ; वस्तु=वत्थु ॥ Ins. धंमानुसस्ति ॥ Pāli. परिवट्ठब्बो ॥ छम्भितत्तं ॥ अस्त=अत्तो ॥

**न स्तम्बे ॥१३॥** In the word *stamba*, *th* is not substituted for *st* स्तम्ब=तम्बो ॥ For *mb*, cf. Ins. लुंमिनि ॥

✓ **स्तम्मे खः ॥१४॥** In the word *stambha*, *kh* is substituted for *st* खंभो ॥ Actually however the form *khambho* is derived from the word *skambha* Ins. टंभ, धंभ ॥ *Th* for *th* in inscriptions may in some cases be due to the carelessness of the engraver.

**स्थाणावहरे ॥१५॥** In the word *sthānu*, when it does not mean *Hara* (i. e. Śiva), *kh* is substituted for the conjunct *sth*. खाणु ॥ But in the sense of *Hara*, it would be थाणु (S. 1) ॥

**स्फोटके ॥१६॥** In the word *sphoṭaka*, *kh* is substituted for the conjunct *sph*. खोड्यो ॥

✓ **र्य-शय्याभिमन्युषु जः ॥१७॥** *J* is substituted for *ry* and also for the conjunct *yy* in the word *śayyā* and *ny* in *abhimanyu* कार्य=कज्जं ; शय्या=सेजा ; अभिमन्यु=अहिमज्जू ॥ For other changes of *ry*, see *Sūtras* 18-21 ; Paisācī· *ry*=*riya* (X, 8) ; Māgadī *ry*=*yy* (XI, 7). Māgadī *ny*=*ññ* (Hem., VIII, 4, 293) ; cf. Sauraseni· *Kanyā*=*kañjā*, *kannā* (XII, 7) ; Paisācī· *kanyā*=*kaññā* ; *ny*, *ny*=*ññ*, according to Hem. (VIII, 4, 305).

**तूर्य-धैर्य-सौन्दर्याभिर्य-पर्यन्तेषु रः ॥१८॥** In the words, *tūrya*, *dhairya*, *sauṇḍarya*, *dścharya* and *paryanta*, *r* is substituted for the conjunct *ry*. Note that *r* and *h* are never doubled (cf. S. 54 which modifies S. 50). तूरं ; धीरं ; सुन्देरं ; अच्छेरं ; परन्तं ॥ Cf. आभर्य=अच्छरियं in Sauraseni (XII, 30), Pāli, Hāthigumphā Ins. But Hem. अच्छेरं, अच्छरिअं, अच्छअरं, अच्छरिज्जं, अच्छरीअं ॥

**सूर्ये वा ॥१९॥** In the word *sūrya*, *r* is optionally substituted for *ry*. सूर्यो, सुब्बो (S. 17) ॥ Pāli. सुरियो ॥ Ins. सूरियिक ; सुलियिक ॥ Cf. S. 20; Paisācī, X, 8.

**चौर्य-समेषु रिञ् ॥२०॥** In the words resembling *chaurya*, *riam* (cf. 'vowel-augmentation, S. 59f.) is substituted for *rya* चौर्य=चोरिञ् ; शौर्य=सोरिञ् ; वीर्य=वीरिञ् ॥ This is an *ākṛiti-gaṇa* (cf. 1. 2, note). According to K., the rule refers to *rya* preceded by a medial *au*. *Rya=ria* is a universal Paisācī characteristic (X, 8) Ins. आर्य=अरिय, अरियर, ऐर ; अइरक ॥

**पर्यस्त-पर्याण-सोकुमार्येषु लः ॥२१॥** In the words, *pariyasta*, *pariyāṇa* and *saukumārya*, *l* is substituted for *ry*. पल्लत्यं ; पल्लायं ; सोअमल्लं ॥ Pāli. पर्यङ्क=पल्लङ्क=NIA. पालङ्क ॥ Change of *r* to *l* seems to be at the root of these instances (II, 30)

**रत्तस्य टः ॥२२॥** *T* is substituted for *rt*. केवर्त्तक=केवट्टओ ; नर्त्तकी=नट्टई ॥

**पत्तने ॥२३॥** *T* is substituted for *tt* in the word *puttana*. पट्टणं ॥ Cf. the name of Pātṇā, capital of Bihār.

**न धूर्तादिषु ॥२४॥** In the words, *dhūrta*, etc., *t* is not substituted for *rt* Bh—धूर्त=धूतो ; कीर्त्ति=कित्ति ; वर्त्तमान=वत्तमाणं ; वार्ता=वत्ता ; आवर्त्त=आवत्तो , संवर्त्तक=संवत्तओ ; निवर्त्तक=निवत्तओ ; वर्त्तिका=वत्तिआ ; आर्त्त=अत्तो ; कर्त्तरी=कत्तरी ; मूर्त्ति=मुत्ती ॥ K—वार्त्तिक, आनर्त्त ; पूर्त्ति ; वर्त्तक ; कर्त्तन ; कार्त्तिकेय ; हर्त्ता ; कर्त्ता ; कीर्त्तन ; मार्त्तण्ड ; वर्त्तन ॥ Cf. NIA. काटारी , काटन ॥ Ins. वर्त्तमानक=वट्टमानक ; अपहर्त्ता=अपहट्ट ; कार्त्तिक=कट्टिय ; संवर्त्त=संवट्ट ॥

**गर्ते ड ॥२५॥** In the word *garta*, *d* is substituted for *rt* गट्टो ॥

**गर्दभ-संमर्द-वितर्दि विछर्दिषु र्दस्य ॥२६॥** In the words, *gardabha*, *sam-marda*, *vitardi* and *vichhardi*, *d* is substituted for *rd*. गट्टहो ; संमट्टो ; विअट्टी ; विछट्टी ॥ K विछर्द=विछट्टो ॥ र्थ=त्थ ; but cf. Pāli अर्थ=अत्थो, अट्टो, अट्टो ॥

**त्य-थ्य-द्यां च छ-जाः ॥२७॥** *Ch*, *chh*, and *j* are respectively substituted for *ty*, *thy* and *dy* सत्य=सच्चं ; नित्य=णिच्चं ; प्रत्यक्ष=पच्चक्खं । रथ्या=रच्छा ; मिथ्या=मिच्छा ; पथ्य=पच्छं । विद्या=विज्जा ; वैद्य=वेज्जं ॥ Ins. उयान, उयाम (*infra*, XI, notes) ; पल्लितिदितु : अधिगिच्च्य ; खादियति ; अपतिय ; अतियायिक ॥ Pāli. अत्यल्प=अतप्पो ॥

**ध्य-ह्योर्कः ॥२८॥** *Jh* is substituted for *dh* and *hy*. मध्य=मज्झं ; अध्याय=अज्झाओ-; बाह्यक=वज्झओ ; गुह्यक=गुज्झओ । सद्य=सज्झं । Pāli, Ins. पतिगट्टह (Nasik) । Ins. सद्य=सट्टह (Nasik) ॥ अवधिय ; इच्छीधियत्त ॥ Pāli. ह्यः=हीयो, हिय्यो ; लेह्यं=लेह्यं ; उह्यते=वुट्टहति, बुलहति । असट्टहो, असट्टहो ॥ Cf. Asokan कतयव, etc.

— **ष्क-स्क-क्षा खः ॥२९॥** *Kh* is substituted for *shk*, *sk* and *ksh* शुष्क=मुक्खं ; पुष्कर=पोक्खरो ; स्कन्द=खन्दो ; स्कन्ध=खन्धो ; क्षत=खदो ; यक्ष=जक्खो ॥ भास्कर=भाक्खरो ; निष्क=निक्खं ; रक्षति=रक्खइ ॥ Cf. Ins. स्कन्द=खंद, कंद । पुष्कर=पोत्तर ॥ Ins. (cf. Pāli) दुकर, दूकत, कंध (NIA कौध) ; संकर=निकमन ॥ निष्कम्प=निक्कम्प (Cowell, Or. Pr , p 13). रामकारो, रामोकारो । Pāli. आमो ; विज्झायति ॥ ऋक्ष=इक्को ; धक्को ॥

— **अक्ष्यादिषु छः ॥३०॥** In the words *akshī*, etc , *chh* is substituted for *ksh*. अक्षि=अच्छी ; लक्ष्मी=लच्छी ; क्षुरण=छुरणो ; क्षीर=क्षीरं ; क्षुब्ध=छुब्धो ; उत्क्षिप्त=उच्छित्तो ; सदक्ष=सरिच्छं ; इक्षु=उच्छू ; उक्षन्=उच्छा ; क्षार=क्षारं ; ऋक्ष=रिच्छो ; मक्षिका=मच्छिआ ; क्षुत=छुअं ; क्षुर=छुरं ; क्षेत्त=छेत्तं ; वक्ष=वच्छो ; दक्ष=दच्छो ; कुक्षि=कुच्छी ॥ K—क्षमा ; अक्षर ; क्षिप्त ; क्षुत् ; पक्ष ; मृगाक्षो ॥ Cf. Ins. क्षीर=क्खीर (Basin) ; क्षेत्र=खेत्तं (Nasik Guntur), छेत्तं (Guntur) । क्षमा=खमा (Na-ik) । सुलक्ष्मी=सुलखि (Mahāsthān) ॥ क्षुद्र=खुल्ल (Guntur, Pāli) ॥ NIA आंखि, आंख ॥

**क्षमा वृक्ष क्षणेषु वा ॥३१॥** Var lect क्षमा० ॥ In the words *kshamā* (or *kshamā*), *vriksha* and *kshana*, *chh* is optionally substituted for *ksha*. क्षमा, खमा । वच्छो (only when *ri* is changed to *a*, cf. *supra*, I, 32), रुक्खो । छणं (only when the word signifies “a feast”), खणं ॥

— **उष्म-पक्ष्म-विस्मयेषु म्हः ॥३२॥** Var lect प्रीष्म० ॥ *Mh* is substituted for *shm*, and also for the conjuncts in the words *pakshma* and *vismaya*. प्रीष्म=गिम्हो ; उष्मन्=उम्हा ; पक्ष्मन्=पम्हो ; विस्मय=विम्हओ ॥ Ins. तस्मात्=तफा ; अस्मि=अस्पि, असि, सुमि ॥ Cf. Pāli पक्ष्मन्=पखुमं, पम्हं ॥

— **ह-क्ष-क्ष-क्ष-क्षनां ण्हः ॥३३॥** Var. lect. ह० *Nh* is substituted for *hn*, *sn*, *shn*, *kshn* and *śn*. Note that Bh's examples are of *nh*, not *nh* (cf. S. 8) वह्नि=वणही ; जहु=जणहु ; श्रद्धा=सण्हं ; तीक्ष्ण=तेण्हं ; प्रश्न=पणहो ; शिक्ष=सिणहो ; निहव=णिणहवो ; स्तपन=ण्हवणं ; अभीक्ष्ण=अहिण्हं ॥ Cf Ins. अनुगहिनेव् ॥ प्रश्न=पसिने (Asokan), पण्हो (Pāli) ॥

**चिह्ने न्हः ॥३४॥** In the word, *chihna*, *ndh* is substituted for the conjunct चिन्धं ॥ Ins. चिहित=छिनिद (C. Asia) ॥

— **ष्यस्य फः ॥३५॥** *Ph* is substituted for *shp*. पुष्य=पुप्फं ; शष्य=सप्फं ; निष्पात=निष्फाओ ; गीष्पति=गीप्फइ ॥ Cf. चतुष्यथ=चउप्पहो (Cowell, Or. Pr , p. 15) ॥ Ins. चतुप्पद (Asokan) ॥ Pāli. वाष्य=वप्पो ॥

✓ **स्वस्य सर्वत्र-स्थितस्य ॥३६॥** V. 1. स्वस्य च ॥ *Ph* is substituted for *sp* wherever it is found, i.e. at the beginning, middle or end of a word. स्वर्श=कंशो (IV, 15 ; *infra*, S. 62); स्पन्दन=फन्दनं ; स्पष्ट=फष्टो ; आस्पद=अप्फअ' ॥ Cf बृहस्पति=भअप्फई (*infra*, IV, 30) Ins बहसति (cf S 37; Pālī पुष्पित=फुस्सित) ॥ स्फुर=खोर (C. Asia) ॥ Hem परोप्परं ॥ Pālī वनप्पति । स्पृहा=पिहा ॥ सर्वत्रस्थितस्य is unnecessary in the text

✓ **सि च ॥३७॥** *Si* is also substituted for *sp*. प्रतिस्पदिन्=पाडिसिद्धी (*supra*, I, 2) ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

**वाष्पेऽभ्रुणि हः ॥३८॥** In the word *bāshpa*, meaning "a tear," *h* is substituted for *shp*. बाहो (S. 54) ॥ But वप्फो, when the word means "hot vapour".

**कार्षापणे ॥३९॥** In the word *kārshāpana*, *h* is substituted for the conjunct *rsh*. काहावणो (S. 54) ॥ Ins काहापण ॥ Cf एच्यथ=एहथ ॥ अभयस्य = अबयह ॥

✓ **अत्स-प्सां छः ॥४०॥** *Chh* is substituted for the conjuncts *sch*, *ts* and *ps* पश्चिम=पच्छिमं ; आश्चर्य=अच्छेरं ; वत्स=वच्छो ; वत्सर=वच्छरो ; लिप्सा=लिच्छा ; जुगुप्सा=जुगुच्छा ; पश्चात्=पच्छा ; कुत्सा=कुच्छा ; अप्सरा=अच्छरा ॥ For *śha* in Māgadhi, see XI, notes. Cf निश्चय=निचय (Cowell, *Or Pr*, p. 13) ॥ Ins संवचर ।

**वृश्चिके छः ॥४१॥** Var. lect. च्छु (K) ॥ In the word *vrīschika*, *sch* (Bh., cf. *supra*, I, 15) or *chchhu* (K) is substituted for *sch*. विच्छुओ, विच्छुओ ।

**नोत्सुकोत्सवयोः ॥४२॥** In the words *utsuka* and *utsava*, *chh* is not substituted for *ts* उत्सुओ ; उत्सओ (cf. S. 1 and 50); according to some Mss. also उसुओ ; उसओ ॥ Beng. उच्छव (S 40) ॥

✓ **न्मो मः ॥४३॥** *M* is substituted for *nm*, cf. S. 2. जन्मन्=जम्मो ; मन्मथ=वम्महो (*supra*, II, 39); यन्मय=जम्मओ (II, 31) ॥

✓ **न-ञ-पञ्चाशत्-पञ्चदशेषु णः ॥४४॥** *N* is substituted for *mn* and *ñh* and for the conjunct *ñch* in the words *pañchāśat* and *pañchadaśa* For *ñh*, cf. S. 5. प्रभुञ्च=पञ्जुणो ; यज्ञ=जणो ; विज्ञान=विण्णणं ; पञ्चाशत्=पण्णासा ; पञ्चदश=पण्णरहो ॥ K निन्न=णिण्णं ; ज्ञान=ण्णणं ॥ Ins. पञ्च = पन्द (Nāgārjunikonda); पन्दरस (Hāthigumphā) ॥

**तालवृन्ते णटः ॥४५॥** In the word *tālavrīnta*, *ñt* is substituted for the conjunct *nt*. तालवेण्टं (*supra*, I, 10).

**मिन्दिपाले णडः ॥४६॥** In the word *bhīndipāla*, *ñḍ* is substituted for the conjunct *nd*. मिण्डिपालो ॥

**विहले भ-हो वा ॥४७॥** In the word *vihvala*, *bh* and *h* are optionally substituted for the conjunct *hv* वेह्वलो (*supra*, I, 12), वीह्वलो (S. 54) ॥ Cf. Pāli. गम्भरं ॥

**आत्मनि पः ॥४८॥** In the word *ātman*, *p* is optionally substituted. अप्पा । अत्ता (S. 2) । Cf. अप्पानो (*infra*, V, 45) ॥ Cf. Ins. आत्प । आत्वनो ॥ आपुणो ॥

**—कमस्य ॥४९॥** *P* is substituted for the conjunct *km* (cf. S. 2). रुक्मिणी=रुप्पिणी ॥

**—शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वमनादौ ॥५०॥** *Sesha* means the remaining letter of a conjunct after the elision of one of its member- *Ādesa* indicates the letter that has to be substituted for another according to injunction. Whoever, after performing an elision or substitution enjoined by a rule, a single consonant comes to represent a conjunct, this letter is always doubled. But the doubling does not take place if it is *h* or *r* (S. 54), or if it is at the beginning of a word, मुक्त=मुत्तं (S. 1), अग्नि=अग्नी (S. 2), मार्ग=मग्गो (S. 3), दृष्टि=दिष्टी (S. 1, S. 10) ॥ Why "not when at the beginning of a word"? स्तवक=थवओ (S. 12), स्तम्भ=खम्भो (S. 14) ॥

**—वर्गेषु युजः पूर्वः ॥५१॥** *Yuj* means the second and fourth letters of a *varga*. When doubling takes place (S. 50) whether in regard to the first or second member of a conjunct, whoever the single representative is an aspirate (i.e. the second or fourth letter of a *varga*) it is to be doubled by prefixing its own non-aspirate. In the case of others, they are themselves their duplicates. व्याख्यान=वक्खाणं ; अर्घ, अर्घ्य=अग्घो ; मुच्छा=मुच्छा ; निर्भर=निम्भरो ; लुब्ध=लुद्धो ; निर्भर=निम्भरो ; दृष्टि=दिष्टी ; वद्ध=वद्धो (*infra*, IV, 18) ; विस्पर्श=विष्परिसो ; निस्तार=णित्थारो ॥ Ins. तख्खसिला ॥

**नीडादिषु ॥५२॥** Var. lect. नीला ० ॥ In the words, *nīḍa* (*nīḷa*, according to some Mss), etc., the non-initial letter (although it is not a conjunct) is doubled. नीड=णोड् (*supra*, I, 19, v. l. नील=णोक्क) ; सोत=सोत्तं ; पेम्न=पेम्मं ; व्याहृत=वाहितं ; अजुक=उज्जुओ ; जनक=जण्णओ ; जीवन=जीव्वाणं ॥ जानु=जाण्णु ॥ The expression *dvaitvam* = *anāḍau* (S. 50) comes here by the *mandukapṛatī-nyāya*.

**आम्र ताम्रयोर्भः ॥५३॥** Var. lect. ०र्भः or ०र्बः ॥ In the words, *āmra* and *tāmra*, *mb* (or *v*, or *b*), is employed in the doubling (S. 50). अम्बं (or अव्वं, or अंब्बं) तम्बं (or तब्बं, or तंब्बं) ॥ Ins. अंब, अंबा ॥ ताम्र ॥ The forms अम्बं and तम्बं are supported by Pāli Gr., Hem. (I, 84, II, 56) and others. Cf. S. 56.



— न र-होः ॥५४॥ *R* and *h* are never doubled. धैर्य=धीरं, तूर्य=तूरं (S. 5); जिह्वा=जोहा (*supra*, I, 17; III, ७), वाष्प=वाहो (S. 38) ॥

— आङो ङस्य ॥५५॥ When *ṅ* is preceded by the preposition *ā*, its substitute *ṅ* (S. 44) is not doubled. आङ्गा=आणा; आङ्गति=आणुत्ति ॥ Why “when preceded by *ā*”? संज्ञा=संज्ञा; प्रज्ञा=परज्ञा ॥

— न विन्नुपरे ॥५६॥ A letter immediately following an *anusvāra* is not doubled. Cl. S. 50 संकात=संकन्तो, सन्ध्या=संभ्रा ॥

— समासे वा ॥५७॥ In a compound, the doubling is optional whether the case is of elision or substitution. नदीप्राप्त=ण्णगामो, एण्णगामो; कुसुमप्रकर=कुसुमपञ्चरो, कुसुमपञ्चरो, देवस्तुति=देवत्तुई, देवत्तुई ॥

सेवाविषु च ॥५८॥ In the words, *sevā*, etc., the doubling of the non-initial consonant is optional. सेवा=सेव्वा, सेवा (K. सेव्वा); एक=एक्कं, एक्कं; नख=णक्खो, एण्हो; दैव=देव्वं, दइव्वं; अशिव=असिक्खं, असिक्खं; तैलोक्य=तेल्लोक्कं, तेलोक्कं, निहित=णिहित्तो, णिहित्तो, तूष्णीक=तुण्हिक्को, तुण्हिक्को ॥ In Bh.’s examples दीर्घ=दिग्घं, दीर्घं; रत्ति=रत्ती, राई; दुःखित=दुक्खित्तो, दुक्खित्तो; अश्व=अस्सो, आसो; ईश्वर=इस्सरो, ईसरो, विश्वास=विस्सासो, वीसासो; निश्वास=णिस्सासो, णीसासो; etc., the doubling is not actually due to this rule Cl. S. 1-3 and notes on *supra*, I, 17. Note that *anusvāra* or *visarga* together with the following consonant is considered equal to a conjunct. The *visarga* (considered equal to a sibilant) is elided and the following consonant is doubled. In Pāli *ya* at the end of a word is often doubled मैत्रेय = मेत्तेय्यो ॥

विप्रकर्षः ॥५९॥ Var. lect विकर्षः ॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf *supra*, I, 1, note) regarding “the separation of conjunct consonants”. This feature is usually called *svarabhakti* (vowel-augmentation) or anaptyxis.

क्लिष्ट-श्लिष्ट-रत्न-क्रिया-शार्ङ्गेषु तत्स्वरवत् पूर्वस्य ॥६०॥ In the five words *klīṣṭa*, etc., the conjunct consonants are dissociated and the first consonant which has no vowel of its own suffers vocalisation and becomes sounded with the original vowel क्लिष्ट=किलिट्; श्लिष्ट=सिलिट्; रत्न=रअणं, रदणं; क्रिया=किरिआ; शार्ङ्ग=सारङ्गो ॥

कृष्णे वा ॥६१॥ In the word *krishna*, the separation of the conjunct is optional कएहो, कसणो ॥ This optionality is supposed to be what is called *vyava-sthita-vibhāṣā*. *Kṛishṇa* becomes *Kaṇho* (S. 33) when it is a proper name, but *kaṣaṇo* when the meaning of the word is “black.” NIA. कान, काहाइ, कानाइ ॥





## चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।—सङ्कीर्णविधिः ॥

### Chapter IV—Miscellaneous Rules

This chapter refers to some more cases of assimilation. It deals with Sandhi, elision of sounds, change of gender, the *taddhita* with a few *kṛt* affixes, augmentation of *anusvāra*, metathesis, etc.

सन्धावचामञ्जलोपविशेषा बहुलम् ॥ १ ॥ Var. lect. °चामग्लोप° (K.) ॥

*Ach* is a *pratyāhāra* or technical term indicating the vowels. When vowels are in *sandhi* (i.e. in a state of immediate conjunction with vowels or other sounds), various kinds of change in the vowels and elision arise. *Change of Vowels in Sandhi (and Samāsa)*. यमुनात्तट=जउण-अडं, जउणाअडं (K. जउणाडं ; but cf. Hem.) ; नदीजल=णइजलं, णईजलं ; सरोरुह=सरोरुहं, सररुहं ; नमस्कार=णमकारो, णमोकारो ; नवैश्वर्य=णवेसज्जं ; सोऽयं=सोअं, सोअअं ; वसिष्ठर्षि=वसिष्ठोसी ; महेन्द्र=महिन्दो ; शिरोरोग=सिरोरोओ, सिररोओ ; पवनोद्धत=पवणुद्धअं, पवणोद्धअं ॥ *Elision of Vowels*. राजकुल=राअउलं, राउलं ; तवार्द्ध=तुहद्धं, तुहअद्धं ; ममार्द्ध=महद्धं, महअद्धं ; पादपतन=पावडणं, पाअवडणं (VIII, 51) ; पादपीठ=पापीठं, पाअपीठं ; चन्द्रकला=चन्दला, चन्दअला ; सह-कार=सहारो, सहआरो ॥ According to Bh., when a conjunct consonant follows, it is always the first of the two meeting vowels that is elided. Of course, the elision is not compulsory. The word *bahulam* (variously) in the *Sūtra* suggests that the changes are absolute in some cases, but in others they admit of different forms. Bh.'s commentary is faulty. According to K., the rule refers also to vowels representing elided consonants. In *vara-sandhi*, the *pratyāhāra* called *ak* (i.e. the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *r* and *ḷ*) is sometimes omitted, sometimes retained and sometimes substituted by other vowels. Sometimes a long vowel is shortened. Note that *Sūtras* 2-5 below can be explained by S. 1 and *supra*, II, 2, and may actually be unnecessary interpolations. K. says that the vowel before a conjunct is always short. Cf. Ins. भट्टमय ; ब्रह्मनिभ्य ; अन्नमन्न ; एकिक ; गतोस्मिं ; तायेठायै ; वसुअभिसित ; महाथावहा ;

अपवुठ ; हेवमेव ; हेवमेव ; ह्वमेव ; हेमेव ; महाअपाय ; मनोअतिलेक ; कयाणमेव ; ह्यंमन ; तपसिइसि ; त्रियुत्तर ; चस ; इत्तीधियच्च ; सूपाथाय ; विम्ववत ; महअहरक ; पसरेपग ; राजरिसि ; तडागउदपान ; सातवाहनिहार ; वर्षारतु ; महिटीक ; ह्यस ; व्योषिशसि ॥

**उडुम्बरे दोर्लोपः ॥२॥** In the word *udumbara*, *du* is elided. उडुम्बरं ॥ Cf. Ins. ओडुंबर, ओडुंबरि ॥

**कालायसे यस्य वा ॥३॥** In the word *kālāyasa*, *ya* is optionally elided. कालासं, कालाअसं ॥ Pāli. मोग्गल्लानो, कतिपयाह=कतिपाह ॥ Cf. Ins. नवनगर=नवनर ॥ प्रतिहाररक्षी=पटिहाररक्षी ॥ लेखहारक=लेहरग ॥ मनु, नूनम्=णं ॥

**भाजने अस्य ॥४॥** In the word *bhājana*, *ja* is optionally elided. भाणं, भाअणं ॥

**यावदादिषु यस्य ॥५॥** In the words, *yāvat*, etc., *va* is optionally elided. यावत्=जा, जाव ; तावत्=ता, ताव ; पारावत्=पाराओ, पारावओ ; अनुवर्त्तमान=अणुत्तन्तो, अणुवत्तन्तो ; जीवित=जीअ, जीविअ ; एवं, एव=एअ, एव्व ॥ K.—आवर्त्तमान, प्रावरक, अवट ; चक्रवाक ; देवकुल ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

**अन्त्यस्य हलः ॥६॥** The final consonant of a word is always elided. यशस्=अशो (S. 18) ; नभस्=णहं (S. 19) ; सरस्=सरो ; कर्मन्=कम्मो ; यावत्=जाव ; पश्चात्=पच्छा ; मरुत्=मरु ; चन्द्रमस्=चन्दमो ; इन्द्रजित्=इन्द्रई ॥ The rule does not apply to words in composition; cf. Hem., I, 11.

**स्त्रियामात् ॥७॥** *Ā* is substituted for the final consonant of a feminine word. सरित्=सरिआ ; प्रतिपत्=पडिपआ ; वाच्=वाआ ॥ According to K., *ā* is added after the final consonant. वाचा ; दिसा ॥ But cf. II, 2.

**रो रा ॥८॥** *Rā* is substituted for the final *r* of a feminine word. धुर=धुरा ; गिर=गिरा ॥ This Sūtra is naturally omitted by K.; cf. S. 7.

**न विद्यति ॥९॥** *Ā* is not substituted for the final letter of the word *vidyut* (although it is a feminine noun ; cf. S. 7). विज्जू (S. 6) ॥

**शरदो दः ॥१०॥** *Da* is substituted for the final *d* of the word *śarad*. सरदो (S. 18) ॥

**दिक्-प्रावृषोः सः ॥११॥** Var. lect. प्रावृषः सः (K.) ॥ *S* is substituted for the final consonant of the words *dīks* and *prāvṛṣh*. दिसा । पाउसो (Bh), पावुसो (K); cf. S. 18.

**मो विष्णुः ॥१२॥** *Anusvāra* is substituted for the final *m*. वृक्षम्=वृक्षं ; भद्रम्=भद्रं ॥ Even Sanskrit inscriptions and Mss use *anusvāra* in place of the final *m* against the rules of Sanskrit grammar which allows the change only in case of *sandhi* with the following consonant. This is universal in South Indian records and Mss and is no doubt due to Prakrit influence.

**अचि मञ्ज ॥१३॥** When a vowel immediately follows, final *m* may be optionally retained (i. e. the *sandhi* is allowed optionally). फलम् अपहरति=फलं अवहरइ, फलमवहरइ ; किमेतत्=किमेदं, किंएदं ॥

— **नजोर्हलि ॥ १४ ॥** Var. lect. नहो० (K) ॥ According to Bh., *anusvāra* as well as the final *m* is substituted for the dental and palatal nasals, *n* and *ñ*, when a consonant follows. K. prefers *ñ* instead *n̄* ; but he speaks only of *anusvāra* and not of the final *m*. K—मन्द=मंदं ; पङ्क्ति=पंती ॥ Bh—विन्ध्य=विंफो, विम्फो ; वक्षणीय=वंचणीयं, वम्चणीयं ॥ As to the final *m*, Hem. (I, 25) supports K ; cf “ङ-ञ-ण-नो व्यञ्जने” ॥ पराङ्मुख=परंमुहो ; कञ्चुक=कंचुओ ; षण्मुख=छंमुहो ; उत्करठा=उक्कंठा , सन्ध्या=संम्हा ॥

**वक्रादिषु ॥१५॥** In the words *vakra*, etc , *anusvāra* is inserted as an augment before the conjunct. वक्र=वंकं ; तयस्र=तंसं ; ह्रस्व=हंसो ; अश्रु=अंसू ; रमश्रु=रंसू ; गृष्टि=गुंठी ; मस्त=मंथं ; मनस्विणा=मणंसिणी ; दर्शन=दंसणं ; स्पर्श=फंसो ; वर्ण=वंणो ; प्रतिश्रुत=पतिसुदं ; अश्व=अंसो ; अभिमुक्त=अहिमुंको ॥ K. शुल्क ; पूर्व ; शुभ्रूवा ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Cf. Ins. पार्षद=पासंड ॥

**मांसादिषु वा ॥१६॥** In the words *māṃsa*, etc., the use of the *anusvāra* is optional. मांस=मंसं, मांसं ; कथं=कहं, कह ; नूनम्=णूणं, णूण ; तस्मिन्=तहिं, तहि ॥ K. मांसल ; तदानीं ; सम्मुख ; चमरं ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ This *Sūtra* is sometimes applied to explain the *anusvāra* optionally added to the terminations of the instr. and loc. plu. and the neut. nom. plu., etc. वृक्षैः=वृक्षेहिं, वृक्षेहि ; वृक्षेषु=वृक्षेडुं, वृक्षेडु ; वनानि=वणाइं, वणाइ ॥ Bh. says that the rule also applies to the cases of any omission or augmentation of *anusvāra* for the sake of the metre.

**ययि तद्धर्गान्यः ॥१७॥** Var. lect. हलि० (K.) or कलि० or कयि० ॥ The *pratyāhāra* called *yay* means the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *h* and the sibilants. K. prefers *hal* which includes *h* in the list of consonants. [But the alternate reading *jhay* indicates the first four letters of a *varga* and *jhal* includes in this list *h* and the sibilants.] When a consonant, except *h*, *ś*, *sh* and *s* (only *ś*, *sh* and *s*, according to K.), follows immediately, the *anusvāra* may optionally become the nasal of the class to which the consonant belongs. शङ्खा=सङ्खा, संका ; शङ्ख=सङ्खो, संखो ; विन्दु=विन्दु, विंदु ॥ K. refers to Sūtras 12-14 and says that this Sūtra applies only to the *cha-varga* and *ṭa-varga*. अयं चन्दो=अयचन्दो, अयचन्दो ; अयचंजखो, अयचजखो ; इदं ठाणं. इदण्ठाणं ; इयं नदी=इयणण्दी, इयण्ण्दी ॥ In the cases of *h* and the sibilants, only the *anusvāra* is to be used. अंश=अंसो ॥

**नसान्त-प्रावृट्-शरदः पुंसि । १८॥** Nouns ending in *n* and *s* and the words *prāvṛṭ* and *śarad* are to be used in the masculine gender ( cf. S. 6). कर्मन्=कम्मो ; यशस्=जसो ; प्रावृष्=पाउसो (S. 11) ; शरद्=सरदो (S. 10) ॥

**न शिरोनभसो ॥१९॥** But the words *śiras* and *nabhas* should remain neuter as in Sanskrit. Cf. S. 18. सिरं ; ण्हं ॥ The rule is optional according to K. There is great confusion of gender in Epigraphic Prakrit

**पृष्ठाक्षि-प्रक्ष्नाः स्त्रियां वा ॥२०॥** The words *prishṭha*, *akṣha* and *prāṣṇa* may be optionally used in the feminine gender. पुष्टी, पुष्टं ; अच्छी, अच्छं ; पण्हा, पण्हो ॥ K. पद्दी, पदं ॥

**ओद् अवापयोः ॥२१॥** *O* is optionally substituted for the preposition *ava* and *apa* when in composition. अवहास=ओहासो, अवहासो ; अपसारित=ओसारिअं, अवसारिअं (II. 15) ॥ Cf. Ins. अपोमुअ ॥

**तल्-त्वयोर् दा-त्तणौ ॥२२॥** The affixes *dā* and *ttana* are respectively substituted for the affixes *tal* and *tva* which are used in Sanskrit to form abstract nouns. पीनता=पीणदा ; पीनत्व=पीणत्तणं ॥ Hem. पीणत्ता, पीणत्तं, पीणिता, पीणत्तणं ॥

**क्व ऊणः ॥२३॥** Var. lect. क्वा तूणः (K.) ॥ *Ūṇa* (Bh.) or *tūṇa* (K.) is substituted for *ktvā*, the Sanskrit affix of the indeclinable past

participle. पृहीत्वा=वेकण, वेत्तूण ; भुत्वा=सोकण, सोत्तूण ; कृत्वा=काकण, दात्वा=दाकण, दात्तूण ॥ Hem. gives *tum*, *a*, *tūṇa*, *ūṇa* and *tuṇṇa*. वेत्तूण, काकण, मेत्तुआण; also कट्टु (AMg.) ॥ Cf. कृत्वा=करिदाणि (Māgadhī, 16) ; करिअ, also कट्टुअ (Sauraseni, XII, 9, 10) ; कात्तूण or कात्तूण (Pāp., X, 23) ॥ Cf. VII, 33. Ins. दसयित्वा, दसयित्तु, दसैत्ति । पलित्तिदित्तु, पलित्तु । पयित्तु । अविगिच्य । चिठित्तु, तिठित्ति । विजित्तु, विजिनित्तु । कट्टु, कृता, करेत्ता, कात्तून । वेदित्तु । आगाव । संनंघापयिया । अमिवादेत्तूण । अपोमुअ । पुयइत्त । कीनिता । पतिगय, पगय्हु । अवितायिता । घातापयिता । उदिसाय । अफट्टु । उजुत्तय, उवर्दाय । अतिद्धित्तूण । जानित्तु, नात्तून, पण । परिणमतुन, पमेत्तून ॥

तृण इरः शीले ॥२४॥ *Ira* is substituted for the affix *trīṇ* signifying habit or disposition. Cf. V, 31. अमिता=अमिरो ; हसिता=हसिरो ; गन्ता=गमिरो ॥

आल्विहोलावन्तेन्ता मतुपः ॥२५॥ Var lect. आल्विअलोलावन्तेन्ता (K.) ॥ The affixes *ālu*, *illa*, *ulla*, *āla* (*ulla* according to K.), *vante* and *inta* (Hem. *itta*) are substituted for *matup*, the Sanskrit suffix signifying possession. But all the affixes are not known to have been used with all words. ईषावत्=ईसालु ; निद्रावत्=णिद्रालु ; विकारवत्=विआरिअलो, विआरुअलो (K.) ; मालावत्=मालाअलो ; धनवत्=धणिअलो (K.), धणालो, धनवन्तो ; शब्दवत्=शब्दालो ; यौवनवत्=यौवणवन्तो ; रोषवत्=रोसाइन्तो ; प्राणवत्=प्राणाइन्तो ॥ K. अरिअलो ॥ Hem. adds *ira* and *maṇa*. गव्विरो ; घणमणो ॥ Here there is an interpolated section in Bh. which notices a few new rules (1) *Ā* and *manta* in place of *matup*. हनुमत=हणुमा, हणुमन्तो ॥ (2) Some scholars use *illa* and *ulla* in the sense of *śaishika* affixes (Pāp., I, 2, 92). पौरस्त्व=पुरिअ ; आत्मीय=अप्पुअ ॥ (3) Instead of *kṛm* etc. in the sense of measure (Pāp., V, 2), *keddaha*, etc. are used. कियत्=केह, केहिअ (Hem. adds केत्तिलं, etc.) ; यावत्=जेह, जेत्तिअ ; तावत्=तेह, तेत्तिअ ; एतावत्=एह, एत्तिअ ॥ (4) *Huttam* is sometimes used for the affix *kṛtvas* (Pāp., V, 17) though it is considered to be a provincialism. शतकृत्वस्=सअहुत्त ॥ The rule regarding the affix *ka* may be an original Sūtra ; cf. S. 25A

स्वार्थे को वा (K.) ॥२५॥ *Ka* may be optionally added to a word without changing its meaning. पय=पदुमअ (II, 2 ; III, 65), पदुमं म



**विद्युत्-पीताभ्यां लः ॥२६॥** *La* is optionally affixed at the end of the words *vidyut* and *pīta* without changing their meaning. विज्जु, विज्जुली (K. विज्जुला); पीअ', पीअलं ॥

**पीताद्वय (K.) ॥२६क॥** According to K., *va* is also added at the end of the word *pīta* without changing the meaning. पोतं=पीअवं ॥

**वृन्दे वो रः ॥२७॥** Var. lect. ०दो रः (K) ॥ In the word *vṛinda*, *r* is optionally added after *v* (Bh.) or *da* (K.) without altering the meaning. वृन्द=वन्दं, वृन्दं (Bh.), वन्दरं (K) ॥

**करेष्वां रणोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिः ॥२८॥** *Sthitiparivṛtti* indicates metathesis. In the word *kareṇū* (fem.), meaning a female elephant, the consonants *r* and *ṇ* are transposed. करेणु ॥

**आलाने लणोः ॥२९॥** In the word *ālāna*, the consonants *l* and *n* are transposed. आलान=आणालं ॥ Cf. Ins. धर्म=ध्रम; पूर्व=प्रुव; पार्षद=प्रषड; etc

**बृहस्पतो बहोर्मओ ॥३०॥** In the word *bṛhaspati*, *bh* and *a* are respectively substituted for *b* and *h*. भअप्फई (*supra* III, 36) ॥ Note that the aspiration of the second sound has been transferred to the first. Cf. Ins बहसति (P'abhosā, Hāthigumphā) ॥

**मलिने लिनोऽलौ वा ॥३१॥** In the word *malina*, *i* and *la* are optionally substituted respectively for *li* and *na*. मइलं (NIA. मयला), मलिणं ॥

**गृहे घोऽपतौ ॥३२॥** *Ghara* is used in the sense of *gr̥ha* except when it is followed by the word *pati*. घरं; but गहपई (K.), गहवई (Bh) ॥

**दाढादयो बहुलम् ॥३३॥** The words, *dāḍhā*, etc., are irregularly used for *daṁṣhtrā*, etc. द'ष्ट्रा=दाढा; इदानीं=एरिह; दुहिता=धीआ, धूदा, दूआ (K.); चातुर्य=चातुलिअं (II. 30, III, 20-21); मयहक=मयहुरो; उत्तपल=कन्दोहो (K. कन्दोहो); गोदावरी=गोला; ललाट=णिङाल (I, 3, note; II, 20, 40; IV, 28); भू=भूमआ; शक्ति=सिप्ती; नील=निहेलं; वारण=दोग्गहो ॥ वैदुर्य=वेलुरिअं (K. वेरुलिअं); उभय=अवहं; उभयपार्व=अवहोवासं; चतु=माइन्दो, माअन्दो ॥ K. अह; मह ॥ In this connection, Cowell draws attention to the Sanskrit words धीदा, कन्दोट, निङाल and माकन्द ॥ All words of common speech which are used by con-

vention in different provinces, may be considered as comprehended under this rule. This *gaṇa* is unlimited. Ins पितुङ्गा ; तणुवक् ; ओडिद्वो ; हेह ; वंति ; कुमा ; परु ; वसनुधान ॥ Originally this rule was possibly meant to comprehend the variations noticed in the interpolated chapters X-XII.

### NOTES.

**Summary.** Some cases of assimilation. (1) Words like *yāvat*. यावत्=जाव, जा ॥ (2) Elision of final consonants of a word. नभस्=णहं ॥ There is no hard and fast rule for *sandhi* in Prakrit. (1) Final *m* of a word is always changed to *anusvāra*. मुखम्=मुहं ॥ (2) *M* followed by a vowel. फलम् अपहरति=फलं अवहरइ, फलमवहरइ ॥ (3) *M* followed by a consonant other than *h* and the sibilants. अञ्चन्न्दो, अञ्चन्दो ॥ (4) Augmentation and elision of *anusvāra*. वक्=वंकं ॥ मांस=मंसं, मांसं ॥ Words ending in *n* and those ending in *s* (excepting *nabhas* and *śiras*) and the words *prāvṛṣh* and *śarad* are masculine. *Prīṣṭha*, *akṣh* and *praśna* are feminine optionally. *Taddhita* affixes with a few *kr̥t* ones.—ता=दा ; त्व=तण् ; मत=आलु, इञ्ज, उञ्ज, आल, इअञ्ज, वन्त, इन्त, आ, मन्त ॥ वीरता=वीरदा ; वीरत्व=वीरतण् ; दयावत्=दयालु ; विकारवत्=विआरिञ्ज, विआरुञ्ज ; धनवत्=धणालो, धनवन्त ; रोषवत्=रोसाइन्त ; हनुमत्=हणुमा, हणुमन्त ॥ तृ=इर ॥ हसिता=हसिरो ॥ क्ता=तूण or ऊण ॥ Metathesis. करेणु=कणेरु ; आलान=आणालं ॥ For other *kr̥t* affixes, see ch. VII.

**Corresponding Changes in Pāli. Sandhi (Euphony).** Elision of a vowel followed by a vowel. अथ+एको=अथेको ; नोहि+एतं=नोहेतं ; यस्स+इन्द्रियाणि=यस्सिन्द्रियाणि ; जम्बु+आदीनि=जम्बादीनि ; तयो+अस्तु=तयस्तु ; एसो+आवुसो=एसवुसो ॥ Occasional elision of a vowel after a dissimilar vowel. चत्तारो+इमे=चत्तारोमे ; पन+इमे=पनमे ॥ Compensatory lengthening of the succeeding vowel after the elision of the preceding one. च+अपि=चापि ; च+उभयं=चूभयं ; सद्धा+इद्ध=सद्धीद्ध ; तथा+उपमं=तथू-

and occasional lengthening of the preceding vowel. *देव+इति=देवाति* ; *विज्जु+इव=विज्जुव* ॥ But *इति+अस्स=इत्ति* ॥ As in Sanskrit, *अ, आ+इ, ई=ए* ; *अ, आ+उ, ऊ=ओ* ॥ But there are exceptions. *यस्सिन्द्रियाणि* ; *तथूपमं* ॥ Medial *e* changed to *y* when followed by a vowel. *मे+अयं=म्यायं* ; *ते+अस्स=त्यस्स* ॥ But *ने+अस्स=न्यस्स* ; *मे+अत्थि=मत्थि* ॥ Medial *o* and *u* changed into *v* when followed by a vowel. *खो+अस्स=खवस्स* ; *सो+अस्स=सवस्स* ; *सु+आगतं=स्वागतं* ॥ *हो+अस्स=होवस्स* ॥ *Dh* sometimes changed to *da* when followed by a vowel. *इव+इह=इदाहं* ॥ But *इव+एव=इवेव* ॥ *l, ï* followed by a vowel was changed to *y* *वि+अजनं=व्यजनं* ॥ But *पच्चहि+अज्जेहि=पच्चहजेहि* ॥ *Ev* sometimes becomes *riva* when preceded by a vowel and the vowel if long is shortened *यथा+इव=यथरिव*, *यथेव* ; *तथा+इव=तथरिव*, *तथेव* ॥ *T* followed by a vowel is sometimes changed to *ch*. *इति+एतं=इच्चेतं* ॥ A vowel followed by a vowel may sometimes remain unchanged. *कोट्ठो+अस्स=कोट्ठोस्स* ॥ When followed by *e* or *h*, the *niggahīta* (*anusvāra*) is sometimes changed to *ñ* *एवं+हि=एवण्हि* ; *तं+हि=तण्हि*, *तंहि* ; *तं+एवं+हि=तण्हि* ॥ When followed by a vowel, the *niggahīta* becomes *m* or *ñ*. *एतं+अवोच=एतदवोच* ॥ Rule : *य-व-म-द-न-त-र-त्ताश्चागमाः* ॥ The augment *y, v, m, d, n, t, r* and *l* may intervene between two vowels. *मा+इदं=मायिदं* ; *न+इमस्स=नयिमस्स* ; *भन्ता+उदिव्खति=भन्तावुदिव्खति* ; *अवोच+अनेकायतनं=मग्गोवनेकायतनं* ; *एक+एकं=एकमेकं* ; *येन+इध=येनमिध* ; *सम्मा+इह=सम्मइव* ; *सम्मा+अक्खात=सम्मदक्खात* ; *इतो+आयाति=इतोनायाति* ; *अज्ज+अग्गे=अज्जग्गे* ; *अस्मा+इह=यस्मातिह* ; *राजा+इव=राजरिव* ; *सच्चि+एव=सच्चिरेव* ; *छ+अग्गि=अग्गि* ॥ Of course, some of the cases show re-instatement of the original consonants of the corresponding Sanskrit words; but some of the augmentations are peculiar to Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit (especially Aśokan). A vowel is sometimes shortened when followed by a consonant. *भोवादी+नाम=भोवादिनाम* ; *यथा+भावी=यथामा* ॥ A consonant after a vowel is sometimes doubled. *इव+पमोवो* ॥ The *niggahīta* when followed by a consonant of a

*varga* is changed to the last letter of that *varga*. तम्हं+करो=तम्हङ्करो ॥  
When a vowel follows, *g* is augmented in *putha*. पुथ+एव = पुथगेव ॥  
*G* is sometimes augmented in *pā*. पा+एव = पगेव ॥ When a vowel follows, *dhi* is changed to *jjh* अधि+ओकासो = अज्जोकासो ॥

Sanskrit *ktvā*=Pāli *tvā*, *ya*, *tvāna*, *tūna*, *itvā*. कृ—कृत्वा, करित्वा, कृत्वा, कृत्न ; चिन्त्—चिन्तित्य ; भुज्—भुजित्य ; नी—नेत्वा ॥ For other *krit* affixes, see Notes on ch. VII. Taddhita affixes. अ, आयन, एम्बो, इ, एर, इक, क, ता, त्त, य, आलु, वा, मा, मय, वो, ॥ मागध । वेधवेर । नाविक । ओदरिक्ता । ०कत् । ०क् । मेधावी ॥ इम—पच्छिम, मज्झिम । ईय—मुचनीय । आयितत्त—ध्रुववत्=ध्रुवायितत्तं । ल—वेदनिश्चित, वेदस्थान=वेदल । तन—वेदनत्तनं । इस्सिक, इय, तर, तम—पापतरो, पापतमो, पापिस्सिको, पापियो, पापिद्रो । वल्लत्तुं (=कृत्वल्लुत्तुं)—द्विवल्लत्तुं ॥ Hem. ईय—अम्हकेरो ; तुम्हकेरो ; पाणिणीअ ; अम्हेच्चयं ; तुम्हेच्चयं ; परक्कं ; पारक्कं ; पारकेरं ; राइक्कं ; रायकेरं ; अप्पणयं ॥ Cf. Sūtras 22, 23, 25, notes.

**Hemachandra on Sandhi and Samāsa.** “दीर्घ-ह्रस्वौ मिथो वृत्तौ [ बहुलम् ]” ॥११४॥ In *samāsa*, vowels at the end of the first member may remain unchanged, or the short vowels may be long and the long ones short. The optionality does not apply to some cases. सत्तावीसा । जुवइ-अणो । वारि मई, वारीमइ । सिल-ललिअ । जउणँ-यडं, जउँणायडं ॥ “पदयोः सन्धिर्वा” ॥११५॥ Sandhi is optional. वासेसी, वास-इसी ॥ It is usually disallowed in the same *pada* (cf. पाओ); but sometimes allowed (cf. काहिइ, काही) ॥ “न युवर्णस्याखे” ॥११६॥ *I* and *u* are not compounded with the following dissimilar vowel. वि-अवयासो ; बहु-अवलडो ॥ “एदोतोः खरे” ॥ ११७॥ *E* and *o* followed by vowels do not form *sandhi*. अहो अच्छरिअ ॥ “खरस्योद्धृते” ॥ ११८॥ *Udvṛtta* is the vowel that is left over when the consonant associated with it is elided. An *udvṛtta* vowel does not form *sandhi* with the preceding vowel. The rule is optional. निसा-अरो । कुम्भआरो, कुम्भारो ॥ But *sandhi* is compulsory in some cases. साला-इयो । चक्काओ ॥ “खादेः” ॥ ११९॥ The vowels of conjugational suffixes do not form *sandhi* with the following vowel. होइ इह ॥ “लुक् च” ॥१११०॥ Vowels followed by another are usually dropped. तिअसीसो ॥

**Epigraphic Prakrit.** For *sandhi*, see S. 1, note and for *ktivā* S. 23, note. *Taddhita* — जातिक, नातिक्य, एतक, यावतक, पनातिक्य, महालक, पारलोकिक, नवकंसिक आचायिक, अकलिक, हिदलोकिक्य, अठकोसिक्य, सुलियिक, उरसक, एकच, बाढतर, कतव्यतर, कंसतर, पखदर, पुरिम, पङ्गिम, मङ्गिम, गजतम, दिवसि, पुरुवर्षि, इमवर्षि, हिदत, पालत, साधव, मादव, सोचाय, चातुदिस, लेपिटक, अपनग, छात, दासक, दोर्मनस्त(स्य?), धनवतो, चिवरिक, चरित्तो, पुढनगलते, कुटुंबिनि, भ्रामणेर, पोत, नासिकक, सिलिमातो, महिमावतो, रुपामयि, तेरन्हुक, अपावेस, अनोमस, पारिहारिक, राजक. °हित्य, तदात्य, गामिक, पोर, जानपद, वेलामिक, दुतिय, यहिपूर्विक, अरोगिय, अरोगि, प्रथमदर, चातुव्वेज्ज, वेजयिक, वधनिक, गुमिक, तूथिक, नेयिक, गामेयिक ॥ Cf. personal names like नाग=नागन, नागनक ॥ नागी=नार्यनिका ॥

### पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ।—लिङ्गविभक्त्यादेशः ॥

#### Chapter V—Declension of Nouns

अत ओत् सोः ॥१॥ *O* is substituted for *su* (*vibhakti* for nom. sing.) after a word ending in *a* वृत्तः=वच्छो ; कामः=कामो ॥ The *a* is supposed to be elided before *o* by *supra*, IV, 1. Cf. Ins., Apabh. विवादः, विवादम्=विवदु ॥

अश्-शसोर्लोपः ॥२॥ *Jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) are elided after words ending in *a*. वृत्तः=वच्छा (cf. S. 11 by which the final *a* becomes *ā*); वृत्तान्=वच्छे (cf. S. 12 by which the final *a* becomes *e*) ॥

अतोऽमः ॥३॥ The *a* of *am* (acc. sing.) is elided after words ending in *a*. वृत्तम्=वच्छं (cf. *supra*, IV, 12) ॥

टामोर्णः ॥४॥ After words ending in *a*, *ṇa* is substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). वृत्तेण=वच्छेण (*infra*, S. 12); वृत्ताणां=वच्छाणां (also वच्छाणं, *supra*, IV, 16; see also *infra*, S. 11) ॥

मिसो हिं ॥५॥ Var. lect. °हिः (K.) ॥ *Him* (or *hi*; cf. *supra*, IV, 16) is substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तेः=वच्छेहि (or वच्छेहि); cf. S. 12. Hem. also gives वच्छेहिं ॥

उत्सेरा-दो-दु-द्वयः ॥६॥ *A*, *do*, *du* and *hi* are severally substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तात्=वच्छा (S. 13), वच्छादो; वच्छादु, वच्छाहि (S. 11) ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

— **भ्यसो ह्यन्तो-सुन्तो ॥७॥** *Hinto* and *sunto* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तेभ्यः=वच्छाह्यन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो ॥ S. 12 also suggests वच्छेह्यन्तो, वच्छेसुन्तो ॥ These two case-affixes are not found in Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit. The Sanskrit abl. plu. *ebhyaḥ* (sometimes also the dat. plu. in the latter) is represented there by *ebhi* or *ehi*. Hem. prefers *tto* and *hinto* in both sing. and plu.; cf. *infra*, Notes.

— **स्तो ङसः ॥८॥** *Ssa* is substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तस्य=वच्छस्स ॥

— **ङरेम्मी ॥९॥** *E* and *mmi* are substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्ते=वच्छे (S. 13), वच्छम्मि ॥ Cf. Ins स्मि, म्मि etc.

— **सुपः सुः ॥१०॥** *Su* is substituted for *sup* (loc. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तेषु=वच्छेषु (S. 12) ॥ Also वच्छेषु (IV, 16) ॥

— **जश्-शस्-ङस्यांसु दीर्घः ॥११॥** For the final *a* of bases ending in *a*, *a* is substituted before *gas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu.), *nasī* (abl. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.) वृत्ताः=वच्छा ; वृत्तान्=वच्छा (or वच्छे ; S. 12); वृत्तात्=वच्छादो, वच्छादु, वच्छाहि (S. 6); वृत्ताणाम्=वच्छाण, वच्छाणं (S. 4) ॥

— **ए च सुप्यङिङसोः ॥१२॥** *E* is substituted for the final *a* of nouns before all the case-affixes (*sup*), except *ni* (loc. sing.) and *nas* (gen. sing.). वृत्तान्=वच्छे (S. 2); वृत्तेण=वच्छेण (S. 4); वृत्तेः=वच्छेहि, वच्छेहि (S. 5); वृत्तेषु=वच्छेषु (S. 10) ॥ For the *ā* in वच्छाह्यन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो (S. 7), cf. optionality indicated by the word *cha* in the Sūtra. In वच्छम्मि (S. 9) and वच्छस्स (S. 8) the short vowel is retained.

— **व्यचिद् ङसि-ङ्योलोपः ॥१३॥** In some cases, the final *a* of the noun is elided before *nasī* (abl. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.). वृत्तात्=वच्छा (S. 6); वृत्ते=वच्छे (S. 9) ॥ In the form of the abl. sing., we have to avoid the necessity of lengthening (S. 11); in the form of the loc. sing., we have to avoid a word like *vachchhae*. The opposite is the case in *vachchhādo*, etc. and *vachchhammi*; cf. also VI, 61.

**इसो णो ॥१४॥** *No* is substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अग्नीन्=अग्निणो ; वायून्=वाउणो ॥

**इसो वा ॥१५॥** *No* is optionally substituted for *śas* (gen. sing.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अग्नेः=अग्निणो, अग्निस्स ; वायोः=वाउणो, वाउस्स ॥ For the alternate form, cf. S. 8.

**जसञ्च ओ यूत्वम् ॥१६॥** Var. lect. जसञ्च वा ओत्वम् (K.) ॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *o* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.), and *i* and *ū* for the final *i* and *u*. *No* is also optionally used without change of vowel. अमयः=अग्गीओ, अग्निणो ; वायवः=वाऊओ, वाउणो ॥ K. speaks of *o* for both *śas* and *jas* and of *a* in the place of *i* and *u*. Nom. plu. and gen. sing. अग्गओ ; वाअओ । अग्निणो, वाउणो ॥ Also nom. plu. अग्गी, वाऊ ॥

**टा णा ॥१७॥** In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *ṇā* is substituted for *ṭā* (inst. sing.). अमिना=अग्निणा ; वायुना=वाउणा ॥

**सु-मिस्-सुप्सु दीर्घः ॥१८॥** The final *i* or *u* of such nouns is changed for its long vowel before *su* (nom. sing.), *bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). अमिः=अग्गी ; वायुः=वाऊ । अमिमिः=अग्गीहि' (or अग्गीहि ) ; वायुमिः=वाऊहि' (or वाऊहि) । अमिडु = अग्गीडु ; वायुडु = वाऊडु ॥

**स्त्रियां शस उदोत्तौ ॥१९॥** In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.). मालाः = मालाउ, मालाओ ; नदीः = नईउ, नईओ ; वधुः = वहुउ, वहुओ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

**जसो वा ॥२०॥** In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are optionally substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.). In the alternative, they follow the rules of bases ending in *a* (S. 2). मालाः = मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ; नवः = णईउ, णईओ, णई ॥ K. ignores S. 19 and reads S. 20 as जसो वा स्त्रियाम् उदोत्तौ ॥ Nom. plu. मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ॥ etc.

**अमि ह्रस्वः ॥२१॥** In feminine nouns, the final long vowel is shortened before *am* (acc. sing.). मालाम् = मालं ; नदीम् = णई' ; वधुम् = वहु' ॥

**टा-इस्-हीनाम् इवेददातः ॥२२॥** Var. lect. टा-इस्-इस्-हीनाम् इदुददादेतः (K.) ॥ In feminine nouns, *i*, *e*, *a* and *ā* are substituted for *ṭā* (inst.

sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.). नया, नयाः, नयाम्=णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ ॥ K. adds *nasi* (abl. sing.) and *u* respectively to the list of case-affixes and that of the substitutes. नया, नयाः, नयाः, नयाम्=णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ, नईउ ॥

**मातोऽदातो ॥२३॥** But in the case of feminine nouns ending in *ā*, the substitution of *a* and *ā* (S. 22) do not take place. मालया, मालायाः, मालायाम्=मालाइ, मालाए, मालाउ (S. 20, note.) ॥ Not मालाअ, मालाआ ॥

**आदीतो बहुलम् ॥२४॥** *Ā* and *i* are irregularly interchanged as the final letter in feminine words ending in *ā*. सहमाना=सहमाणा, सहमाणी ; हरिद्रा=हलद्वा (*supra*, I, 13; II, 30). हलदी ; सूर्पनखा=सुप्पणहा, सुप्पणही ; छाया=छाहा (*supra*, II, 18), छाही ॥

**न नपुंसके ॥२५॥** The final vowel of neuter nouns is not lengthened before *su* (nom. sing.); cf. S. 18, 30. दधि=दहिं ; मधु=महुं ; हविस्=हविं ॥

**इज्ज जश्-शसोर् दीर्घश्च ॥२६॥** In neuter nouns, *i* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) and the preceding vowel is lengthened. वनानि=वणाइ ; दधीनि=दहीइ, मधूनि=महुइ ॥ For the alternate forms वणाइ, etc., cf. *supra*, IV, 16. K. also allows *i*. वणाई ॥

**नामन्त्रणे सावोत्वदीर्घ-चिन्ध्वः ॥२७॥** When *su* (nom. sing.) is used in the sense of the vocative, the *o* (S. 1), the long vowel (S. 18) and the *anusvāra* (S. 30) are not allowed in it. हे वच्छ ; हे अग्नि ; हे वाउ ; हे वण ; हे दहि ; हे महु ॥ हे विलासिणि ॥

**स्त्रियामात एत् ॥२८॥** In the vocative of feminine nouns, *e* is substituted for the final *ā* before *su* (nom. sing.). हे मात्ते ॥ According to 11h., *s* of *su* (whose *u* is dropped by Pāṇ, I, 3. 2) is elided by *supra*, IV, 6.

**इदूतोर्ह्रस्वः ॥२९॥** In feminine nouns, the final *i* or *ā* is shortened in the vocative. हे नइ ; हे बहु ॥

**सोर्विन्दुर्नपुंसके ॥३०॥** In neuter nouns, *anusvāra* is substituted for *su* (nom. sing.). वणं ; दहिं ; महुं ॥



**अत आरः सुपि ॥३१॥** *Āra* is substituted for *ri* before all the case-affixes (*sup*) in the words ending in *ri*. भर्तृ=भतार ॥ भतारो, भतारेण ॥ etc.

**मातुरात् ॥३२॥** *Ā* is substituted for the final *ri* of the word *mātri* which is then declined like a feminine word ending in *ā*. माता=मात्रा । मातरम्=मात्रम् । माता, मातुः, मातरि=मात्राह, मात्राए, मात्राड (S. 23) ॥ etc.

**उर् जश्-शस्-टा-उस्-सुप्सु वा ॥३३॥** *U* is optionally substituted for the final *ri* before *jas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu.), *ṭā* (inst. sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). In these cases, a word ending in *ri* becomes optionally subject to the rules for a word ending in *u*. भर्तृ=भर्तारः=भत्तुणो (S. 14, 16), भतारा । भर्तृन्=भत्तुणो, भतारे । भर्ता=भत्तुणा (S. 17), भतारेण । भर्तुः=भत्तुणो (S. 15), भतारस्स । भर्तृबु=भत्तुबु, भतारेसु ॥ K. also gives the form भत्तु for *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.), and says that the word *bhartṛi* may optionally become *bhattṛi* before the above case-affixes.

**पितृ-भ्रातृ-जामातृणामरः ॥३४॥** In the words *pitṛi*, *bhrātṛi* and *jāmātṛi*, *ara* is substituted for *ri* before all the case-affixes. पितरम्=पित्रम् ; पिता=पित्रेण । भ्रातरम्=भ्रात्रम् ; भ्राता=भ्रात्रेण । जामातरम्=जामात्रम् ; जामाता=जामात्रेण ॥ Cf. instances from Epigraphic Prakrit, *infra*, Notes.

**आ च सौ ॥३५॥** In the words *pitṛi*, *bhrātṛi* and *jāmātṛi*, *ā* is optionally substituted for *ri* before *su* (nom. sing.). पिता=पित्रा, पित्रो (S. 34) ; भ्राता=भ्रात्रा, भ्रात्रो ; जामाता=जामात्रा, जामात्रो ॥

**राजश्च ॥३६॥** Before *su* (nom. sing.), *ā* is substituted for *an* in the word *rājan*. राजा=रात्रा (*supra*, II, 2) ॥ Cowell believed that the rules regarding the word *rājan* (S. 36-44), which were not found in all the Mss. he consulted, are spurious. Excepting S. 39 all the other *Sūtras* are however noticed in the versified commentary of K.

**आमन्त्रणे वा विन्दुः ॥३७॥** *Anusvāra* is optionally used in the word *rājan* in the vocative. हे रात्रम्, हे रात्र (S. 27) ॥

**जश-शस्-स्वा णो ॥३८॥** In the word *rājan*, *no* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu.) and *nas* (gen. sing.). The rule is optional according to K. राजानः=राजाणो (also राज्ञो in some Mss. of Bh. and राज्ञा according to K.) ; राज्ञः=राजाणो (also राज्ञो in some Mss. of Bh. and राज्ञा according to K.) ; राज्ञः=राज्ञो, रणो (S. 42), also राजस्स (K.) ॥

**शस् एत् ॥३९॥** In the word *rājan*, *e* is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.). राज्ञः=राए (also राज्ञो, राज्ञाणो, राज्ञाणो ; S. 38) ॥ This rule is ignored by K. who however gives the form राज्ञाणो ॥

**आमो णं ॥४०॥** In the word *rājan*, *ṇam* is substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). राज्ञाम्=राजाणं (S. 4, 11) ॥

**टा णा ॥४१॥** In the word *rājan*, *ṇā* is substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.). राज्ञा=राज्ञा, रण्णा (S. 42) ॥

**स्वश्च द्वित्वं वात्यलोपश्च ॥४२॥** In the word *rājan*, the final consonant is either elided or doubled optionally in *nas* (gen. sing.) and *tā* (inst. sing.) राज्ञः=रणो, राज्ञो ; राज्ञा=रण्णा, राज्ञा ॥ K. ignores *tā* (inst. sing.) and suggests for *nas* (gen. sing.) the alternate form राजो ॥

**इद्वित्वे ॥४३॥** If the final letter is not doubled, *i* is augmented in the word *rājan* before *tā* (inst. sing.) and *nas* (gen. sing.). राज्ञा=राज्ञा ; राज्ञः=राज्ञो ॥ But when the final letter is doubled, we have रण्णा ; रण्णो ॥

**आ णोणमोरकसि ॥४४॥** When followed by *no* and *ṇam*, *ā* is substituted for the *ja* of the word *rājan*, except in the case of *nas* (gen. sing.). राज्ञः=राजाणो ; राज्ञाम्=राजाणं ॥ But राज्ञः=रणो, राज्ञो ॥ For the remaining cases, the word is to be declined like a word ending in *a*. राज्ञं । राज्ञि । राज्ञादो ; राज्ञाडु ; राज्ञाहि । राज्ञाहिन्तो ; राज्ञाडुन्तो । राज्ञम्मि ; राज्ञं । राज्ञु ; राज्ञु ॥

**आत्मनोऽप्याणो वा ॥४५॥** *Appāṇa* is optionally substituted for the word *ātman*. आप्याणो ; also अप्या (III, 48), अत्ता (III, 2) ॥

इत्त्व-द्वित्व-वज्रं राजवदनादेशे ॥४६॥ When the substitution of *appāṇa* does not take place, the word *ātman* is declined in the same way as *rājan* ; but the augmentation of *i* and doubling of the final consonant (S. 42-43) are not allowed in the case of *ātman*. अत्ता, अप्पा ॥ The substitute *appāṇa* is declined in the same way as *vriksha*. Cowell considered this Sūtra to be spurious (cf. S. 36, note), though it is found in K.

ब्रह्माद्या आत्मवत् ॥४७॥ The words *brahman*, etc., are properly declined like *ātman*. ब्रह्मन्—बम्हा । बम्हाणो ॥ युवन्—जुवा । जुवाणो ॥ अध्वन्—अद्वा । अद्वाणो ॥ etc. Bh. possibly takes *bamhāṇa* as an alternate form like *appāṇa*.

For some additional rules of declension, see ch. VI, 60-64. There is no dual number, and the genitive case-affix is usually employed for the dative; cf. VI, 63-64 and notes.

### NOTES

**Summary. Declension.** Bases (masc.) ending in *a* वृत् ॥१—वच्छो । वच्छा ॥२—वच्छं । वच्छे, वच्छा ॥३—वच्छेण । वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहि (IV, 16) ॥ ५—वच्छादो, वच्छादु, वच्छाहि, वच्छा । वच्छाहिन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो, वच्छेहिन्तो, वच्छेसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वच्छस्स । वच्छाण, वच्छाणं (IV, 16) ॥ ७—वच्छे, वच्छम्मि । वच्छेसु, वच्छेसुं (IV, 16) ॥ Voc. वच्छ । वच्छा ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *ṛ*. अग्नि ॥१—अग्नी । अग्नीओ, अग्निणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥२—अग्गिं । अग्निणो ॥३—अग्निणा । अग्गीहिं, अग्गीहि ॥५—अग्गीदो, अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि । अग्गीहिन्तो, अग्गीसुन्तो ॥४, ६—अग्गिस्स, अग्निणो, अग्गओ । अग्गीणं, अग्गीण ॥७—अग्गिम्मि । अग्गीसुं, अग्गीसु ॥ Voc. अग्गि । अग्गीओ, अग्निणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *u*. वायु ॥१—वाऊ । वाऊओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाऊ ॥२—वाउं । वाउणो ॥३—वाउणा । वाऊहिं, वाऊहि ॥५—वाऊदो, वाऊदु, वाऊहि । वाऊहिन्तो, वाऊसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वाउणो, वाउस्स, वाअओ । वाऊणं, वाऊण ॥७—वाउम्मि । वाऊसु, वाऊसुं ॥ Voc. वाउ । वाऊओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाऊ ॥ Voc. माले । मालाओ, मालाउ, माला ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *i*. नदी ॥ १—यई । यईओ, यईउ, यई ॥ २—यई । यईओ, यईउ, यई ॥ ३—यईइ, यईअ, यईआ, यईए, यईउ । यईहिं, यईहि ॥ ५—यईदो, यईदु, यईदि, यईइ, यईए, यईअ, यईआ, यईउ । यईहिन्तो, यईसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—यईइ, यईअ, यईआ, यईए, यईउ । यईणं, यईण ॥ ७—यईइ, यईअ, यईआ, यईए, यईउ । यईसुं, यईसु ॥ Voc. याइ । यईओ, यईउ, यई ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *ī*. वधू ॥ १—वहु । बहुओ, बहुउ, बहु ॥ २—वहुं । बहुओ, बहुउ, बहु ॥ ३—वहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुहिं, बहुहि ॥ ५—वहुदो, बहुदु, बहुदि, बहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुहिन्तो, बहुसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुणं, बहुण ॥ ७—वहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुसुं, बहुसु ॥ Voc. वहु । बहुओ, बहुउ, बहु ॥

Bases (neut.) ending in *a*. वन ॥ १, २—वणं । वणाइं, वणाढ, वणाई ॥ ३—वणेण । वणेहिं, वणेहि ॥ ५—वणादो, वणादु, वणाहि । वणासुन्तो, वणेसुन्तो, वणाहिन्तो, वणेहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वणास्स । वणाणं, वणाण ॥ ७—वणे, वणम्मि । वणेसुं, वणेसु ॥ Voc. वण । वणाइं, वणाइ, वणाई ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *ri*. (1) भर्तृ ॥ १—भत्तारो । भत्तारो, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ २—भत्तारं । भत्तारे, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ ३—भत्तारेण, भत्तुणा, भट्टिणा । भत्तारेहिं, भत्तारेहि ॥ ५—भत्तारादो, भत्तारादु, भत्ताराहि । भत्ताराहिन्तो, भत्तारासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—भत्तारस्स, भत्तुस्स, भत्तुणो, भट्टिणो । भत्ताराणं, भत्ताराण ॥ ७—भत्तारे, भत्तारम्मि । भत्तारेसु, भत्तारेसुं, भत्तुसु, भत्तुसुं ॥ Voc. भत्तार । भत्तारा, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ (2) भ्रातृ ॥ १—भाअ्रा, भाअरो । भाअरा ॥ २—भाअरं । भाअरे ॥ ३—भाअरेण । भाअरेहिं, भाअरेहि ॥ ५—भाअरादो, भाअरादु, भाअराहि । भाअराहिन्तो, भाअरासुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*) ॥ ४, ६—भाअरस्स । भाअराणं, भाअराण ॥ ७—भाअरे, भाअरम्मि । भाअरेसुं, भाअरेसु ॥ Voc. भाअ, भाअर । भाअरा ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *ri*. मातृ ॥ १—माआ । माआओ, माआउ, माआ ॥ This is to be declined exactly like माला ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *n*. (1) राजन् ॥ १—राअा । राअाओ, राअा ॥ २—राअं । राअाओ, राए, राअाओ ॥ ३—राइणा, राणा । राएहिं, राएहि ॥ ५—राअा, राअादो, राअादु, राअाहि । राअाहिन्तो, राअासुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*) ॥

४, ६—राइणो, रणो, राणो, राअस्त । राआणं, राआण ॥ ७—राए, राअम्मि । राएसुं, राएसु ॥ Voc. राअ, राअं । राआणो, राआ ॥ (2) आत्तन् ॥ १—अत्ता, अप्पा, अप्पाणो । अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥ २—अत्तं, अप्पं, अप्पाणं । अप्पाणो, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥ ३—अत्तणा, अप्पणा, अप्पाणोण । अत्तेहिं, अत्तेहि, अप्पेहिं, अप्पेहि, अप्पाणोहिं, अप्पाणोहि ॥ ५—अत्ता, अत्तादो, अत्तादु, अत्ताहि, अप्पा, अप्पादो, अप्पादु, अप्पाहि, अप्पाणा, अप्पाणादो, अप्पाणादु, अप्पाणाहि । अत्ताहिन्तो, अत्तासुन्तो, अप्पाहिन्तो, अप्पासुन्तो, अप्पाणाहिन्तो, अप्पाणासुन्तो (also with *ehinto, esunto*) ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तणो, अप्पस्स, अप्पणो, अप्पाणस्स । अत्ताणं, अत्ताण, अप्पाणं, अप्पाण, अप्पाणाणं, अप्पाणाण ॥ ७—अत्ते, अत्तम्मि, अप्पे, अप्पम्मि, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणम्मि । अत्तेसुं, अत्तेसु, अप्पेसुं, अप्पेसु, अप्पाणोसुं, अप्पाणोसु ॥ Voc. अत्तं, अत्त, अप्पं, अप्प, अप्पाण । अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥

**Declension in Pāli** (1) बुद्ध ॥ १—बुद्धो । बुद्धा, [बुद्धे] ॥ २—बुद्धं । बुद्धे ॥ ३—बुद्धेन, [बुद्धसा, बुद्धसो] । बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि ॥ ४—बुद्धाय, बुद्धस्स । बुद्धाणं ॥ ५—बुद्धा, बुद्धम्हा, बुद्धस्मा । बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि ॥ Cf. Ins. दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः = दिना आजीविकेहि ॥ and note that dat. plu. and abl. plu. have the same form in Sanskrit. ६—बुद्धस्स । बुद्धानं ॥ १—बुद्धे, बुद्धम्हि, बुद्धस्मिं । बुद्धेसु ॥ (2) मुनि ॥ १—मुनि । मुनी, मुनयो ॥ २—मुनिं । मुनी, मुनयो ॥ ३—मुनिना । मुनीहि, मुनीभि ॥ ४, ६—मुनिस्स, मुनिनो । मुनीनं ॥ ५—मुनिना, मुनिस्मा, मुनिम्हा । मुनीहि, मुनीभि ॥ ७—मुनिस्मिं, मुनिम्हि । मुनीसु ॥ (3) भिक्खु ॥ १—भिक्खु । भिक्खू, भिक्खवो ॥ २—भिक्खुं । भिक्खू, भिक्खवो ॥ ३—भिक्खुना । भिक्खुहि, भिक्खुभि ॥ ४, ६—भिक्खुनो, भिक्खुस्स । भिक्खुनं ॥ ५—भिक्खुना, भिक्खुस्मा, भिक्खुम्हा । भिक्खुहि, भिक्खुभि ॥ ७—भिक्खुस्मिं, भिक्खुम्हि । भिक्खुसु ॥ In the *r-* and *u-*stems, short vowels may be used before *su*, *nam* and *hi*. Cf. also सखारं ; सखारानं ; जन्तू, जन्तवो, जन्तुयो, जन्तुनो ; etc. (4) लता ॥ १—लता । लता, लतायो । २—लतं । लता, लतायो ॥ ३, ५—लताय । लताभि, लताहि ॥ ४, ६—लताय । लतानं ॥ ७—लताय, लतायं । लतासु ॥ (5) नदी ॥ १—नदी । नदी, नदियो, नज्जो ॥ २—नदिं, नदियं । नदी, नदियो, नज्जो ॥ ३, ५—नदिया, नज्जा, [नथा] । नदीभि, नदीहि ॥ ४, ६—नदिया, नज्जा, [नथा] । नदीनं, [नदीयानं] ॥ ७—नदिया, नज्जा, नज्जं, नदियं, [नथं] । नदीसु ॥ (6) वधू ॥ १—वधू । वधू, वधुयो । २—

वधुं । वधू, वधुयो ॥ ३, ५—वधुया । वधूभि, वधूहि ॥ ४, ६—वधूया । वधूनं ॥ ७—  
 वधुया, वधुयं । वधूसु ॥ (7) मातृ ॥ १—माता । माता, मातरो ॥ २—मातरं । मातरे, मातरो ॥  
 ३, ५—मातरा, मातुया, मात्या or मत्या । मातरेहि, मातरेभि, मातूहि, मातूभि ॥  
 ४, ६—मातु, मातुया, मात्या । मातरानं, मातानं, मातूनं, मातुन्नं ॥ ७—मातरि, मातुया,  
 मात्या, मातुयं, मात्यं or मत्यं । मातरेसु, मातूसु ॥ (8) कर्तृ ॥ १—कर्ता । कतारो ॥  
 २—कर्तारं । कतारो, कतारे ॥ ३, ५—कर्तारा, कतुना । कतारेहि, कतारेभि ॥ ४, ६—  
 कतु, कतुनो, कतुस्स । कतारानं, कतानं, कतूनं ॥ १—कर्तरि । कतारेसु, कतूसु ॥  
 (9) आत्मन् ॥ १—अत्ता । अत्तानो, [अत्ता] ॥ २—अत्तं, अत्तानं । अत्तानो, [अत्ते] ॥  
 ३—अत्तना, अत्तेन । अत्तेनेहि, अत्तेनेभि, [अत्तेहि, अत्तेभि] ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तनो ।  
 अत्तानं । ५—अत्तना, अत्तस्मा, अत्तम्हा । (same as inst. plu.) ॥ १—अत्तनि,  
 [अत्ते] । अत्तेनेसु ॥ (10) राजन् ॥ १—राजा । राजानो ॥ २—राजं, राजानं । राजानो ॥  
 ३—रज्जा, राजेन, राजिना । राजूभि, राजूहि । राजेभि, राजेहि ॥ ४, ३—रज्जो, राजिणो,  
 राजस्स । रज्जं, राजूणं, राजाणं ॥ ५—रज्जा, राजम्हा, राजस्मा । (same as inst.  
 plu.) ७—रज्जे, राजिनि, राजम्हि, राजस्मिं । राजूसु, राजेसु ॥ (11) श्वा । ७—से,  
 सस्मिं, सम्हि, साने । सासु ॥ (12) गच्छत् ॥ १—गच्छं, गच्छन्तो । गच्छन्तो ॥  
 २—गच्छन्तं । गच्छन्ते ॥ ३—गच्छता, गच्छन्तेन । गच्छन्तेभि, गच्छन्तेहि ॥  
 ४, ६—गच्छतो, गच्छन्तस्स । गच्छत, गच्छन्तानं ॥ ५—गच्छता, गच्छन्तम्हा, गच्छ-  
 न्तस्मा । गच्छन्तेभि गच्छन्तेहि ॥ १—गच्छति, गच्छन्ते, गच्छन्तम्हि, गच्छन्तस्मिं ।  
 गच्छन्तेसु ॥ (13) पुमस् ॥ १—पुमा, पुमो । पुमा, पुमानो ॥ २—पुमानं, पुमं । पुमानो,  
 पुमाने, पुमे ॥ ३—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमेन । पुमानेभि, पुमानेहि, पुमेहि, पुमेभि ॥  
 ४, ६—पुमुनो, पुमस्स । पुमानं ॥ ५—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमा, पुमस्मा, पुमम्हा ।  
 (same as inst. plu.) ॥ ७—पुमाने, पुमे, पुमस्मिं, पुमम्हि । पुमानेसु, पुमेसु, पुमसु ।

**Declension from Hemacandra.** (1) वृद्ध ॥ १, २, ६, ७—(as in PP.) ॥

३—वृद्धेण, वृद्धेणं । वृद्धेहि, वृद्धेहिं, वृद्धेहिं ॥ ५—वृद्धा, वृद्धतो, वृद्धाओ  
 (Saur. ओदो), वृद्धाड (Saur. ओदु), वृद्धाहिं, वृद्धाहितो । वृद्धतो, वृद्धाओ, वृद्धाड,  
 वृद्धाहि, वृद्धेहि, वृद्धाहिं तो, वृद्धासुं तो, वृद्धेहिं तो, वृद्धेसुं तो ॥ (2) गिरि ॥ १—गिरी ।  
 गिरी, गिरिओ, गिरिड, गिरिणो ॥ २, ३—(cf. अग्नि in PP. and वृद्ध in Hem.)  
 ४, ६—गिरिणो, गिरिस्स । गिरीण, गिरीणं ॥ ५—गिरिणो, गिरित्तो, गिरीओ, गिरीड,  
 गिरीहिं तो । गिरित्तो, गिरीओ, गिरीड, गिरीहिं तो, गिरीसुं तो ॥ Voc. गिरि, गिरी । गिरी,

etc. Note that Hem does not allow हि as the affix of abl. sing. except in the *a*-stems. (3) तरु ॥ १—तरुः । तरु, तरवो, तरवो, तरवः, तरवो ॥ २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७—(cf. गिरि in Hem.) ॥ (4) माला ॥ १—(as in P.P.) २—मालं । माला, मालाओ, मालाउ ॥ ३—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए । मालाहि, etc. (cf. वृक्ष in Hem.) ॥ ४, ६—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए । मालाण, मालाणं ॥ ५—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए, मालत्तो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहिंतो । मालत्तो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहिंतो, मालासुंतो ॥ १—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए । मालासु मालासुं ॥ (5) बुद्धि ॥ १, २—(cf. माला in Hem.) ॥ ३—बुद्धीअ, बुद्धीआ, बुद्धीइ, बुद्धीए । बुद्धीहि, etc. ॥ ५—बुद्धोअ, बुद्धोआ, बुद्धित्तो, बुद्धीइ बुद्धिए, बुद्धीओ, बुद्धीउ, बुद्धीहिंतो । बुद्धित्तो, बुद्धीओ, बुद्धीउ, बुद्धीहिंतो, बुद्धीसुंतो ॥ ४, ६, ७—(sing. as inst. sing.; for plu., cf. माला in Hem.) ॥ (6) पितृ ॥ १—पित्रा, पित्रो । पित्ररा, पित्रणो, पित्रवो, पित्रओ, पित्रउ, पित्र ॥ २—पित्ररं । पित्ररे, पित्ररा, पित्रणो, पित्र ॥ ३—पित्ररेण, पित्ररेणं, पित्रणा । पित्ररेहि, etc., पित्रहि, etc. ॥ ४, ५, ६, ७—(पित्रर as वृक्ष and पिउ as तरु in Hem.) ॥ (7) राजन् ॥ १—राया । राया, रायाणो, राइणो ॥ २—रायं, राइणं । राये, राया, रायाणो, राइणो ॥ ३—राइणा, रएणा, राएण, राएणं । राएहि, etc. राईहि, etc. ॥ ४, ६—रएणो, राइणो, रायस्स । राइण, राइणं, रायाण, रायाणं ॥ ५—रएणो, राइणो, रायत्तो, etc. । रायत्तो, etc. ; राइत्तो, etc. (cf. गिरि and वृक्ष in Hem.) ॥ ७—राये, रायम्मि, राइम्मि । राईसु, राईसुं, राएसु, राएसुं ॥

**Declension in Epigraphic Prakrit.** In some cases, the *vi bhaktis* are adapted to a standard base. Note the confusion about the use of gender. (1) जन (masc.) १—जन, जनं, जना, जनि, जने, जनो, जनु (C. Asia) । जन, जना, जने, जनानि, जनासे (Aśokan; cf. Ved. जनासः) ॥ २ जन, जनं, जना, जने, जनो, जनु । जन, जना, जने, जनानि ॥ ३ जनेन, जनेना । जनेहि, जनेहिं ॥ ४—जना, जनाय, जनाये, जनए । जनेहि ॥ ५—जन, जना, जनाहि, जनते, जनदे ॥ ६—जनस, जनसा, जनह (Ceylon) । जनानं, जनानां, जनान, जनाना ॥ ७—जनम्हि, जनंम्हि, जने, जनसि, जनस्सि, जनंमि, जनमि । जनेसु, जनेसु ॥ Cf. dat. dual पदेभ्यं in C. Asia. (2) फल (neut.) १, २—फल, फलं, फले, फला, फलो । फलानि, फलानी, फला, फल ॥ (3) पूजा (fem.) १—पूज, पूजा । पूजा, पूजायो ॥

२—पूजा, पूजं, पूजां ॥ ३—पूजाय, पूजाया, पूजाये, पूजाये, पुयए, पुञ्जए । पूजाएहि, पूजाहि ॥ ४, ६,—(sing. same as inst. sing.) । पूजानं ॥ ५—(sing. same as inst. sing.) ॥ ७—पूजायं, पूजाय, पूजाये । पूजासु ॥ Cf. bases like चावुदसा, पंण्डसा for चतुर्दशी, पञ्चदशी ; also परिसा, दिसा, etc. (4) मुनि, etc. ॥ १—सक्यमुनी (असमति neut.) । ओसधीनि (masc.) ॥ २—Pl. अधिपतये (masc.) ॥ ६—सातकणिस, सातकनिनो, मुने, अधिपतिनो, गह्वतिस, सतिनो, मुनिस, पुण्यबुद्धिस्य, ०सिरिनो, ०बोधिनो । आतिनं, आतिना, आतिन ॥ ७—Pl. जातीसु, जातिसु ॥ (5) मति, देवी (fem.) । १—देवि, देवी । देवि, देवियो, देविनि (cf. अनुसन्धिनि), देविये ॥ २—देवि, देवी, देवि । देवियो ॥ ३, ४—देविय, देविया, देविये, देविअ, देवीय ॥ ५—देविया, देवितो ॥ ६—देविये, देवीये, देवीय । देविना, देविनं, देवीनं ॥ ७—देविये, देवियं, देवि (cf. चतुर्दशि), देव्यं, देव्या, देविया, देवीयं । देविसु ॥ (6) साधु (masc.), etc. ॥ १—साधु (also fem. and neut.), साधू । धतुओ (neut. बहुनि) ॥ ३—साधुना (fem. वासुय) । साधुहि, बहुहि ॥ ५—Pl. भिखुहि ॥ ६—इखाकुस, भिच्छुस्य (fem. वधुये) । भिखुनं, भिखुन, साधूनं ॥ ७—पुनावसुने, बहुने । साधूसु, साधुसु ॥ Cf. आगरजुस, सर्वजुनो ॥ गो—गोनसा । etc. ॥ (7) पितृ, etc. १—पिता, पित. णता, अपहट, ०हटा, निष्पयिता । नतारे, नतरो, नती, नति ॥ २—मातरं । पित्रि ॥ ३—पिता, पितिना, जामातरा, आता, भातिना, भाता, भदुण, मल, मातुय, मातर, धिल, धितर, धुतुना, धितुन । मातापितिहि ॥ ४—पितु ॥ ६—मातु, मातुय, मदुपिडु, मतपितु, पितुनो. भ्रतु, भदुणो, भदर, धित, धिता, धुतुय, तातारस । मदपिदर, मातापितुनं, भातिनं, भातीनं, भ्रतुन, भातुनं, मतरपितरण, स्पसुन ॥ ७—पितरि, मातरि, मात्रि । पितिष्ठ, पितुसु ॥ (8) Bases in *at*. १ भगवं (neut. आवत्ते, कियं, किय), कहु, कहुं, करोतो, करंतं, महंते. संतो, संतं, पजाव, सिरिमाते. ०मातो, अभिसित्तमतो । तिसटंतो, संत ॥ ३—भगवता, हेतु०, शरीर०, भगवद ॥ ६—महतकस, भगवतु, ०वतो, सिरिमत्स, महत्स, महंतस, अरहतो । वसंतानं, महिमावतानं, अरहंतानं ॥ ७—महंते ॥ (9) राजन् etc. (masc.) । १—राजा, राज (neut. कंमं, कंमे । राजानो, राजाने, रजनि ॥ २—राजानं, अतानं (neut. नाम, नामा) । उत्तरापधराजानो (neut. कंमानि) ॥ ३—राजा, राजिना, अतना, महतना, महात्पेन, कंमन । लाजीहि ॥ ४—कंमाये, कंमने ॥ ५—महात्पा ॥ ६—रजो, राजो, राजिने, रजने, रजिने, रजस, राजिनो, अतने, अतनो. अपनो, अत्वनो, कंमस, ०वर्मस्य, ०दामस, अयमस । महत्वन ॥



७—राजिनि, सीमे ॥ Cf. युवराजो, धर्मराजो, etc. (10) प्रियदर्शिन, etc. (masc.)  
 १—प्रियदत्ति, प्रियदत्ती, इति ॥ २—Pl. हयिनि, हयीनि, अस्तिन, अस्तिने,  
 अंतेवासीनि (neut. गामीनि) ॥ ३—प्रियदत्तिना, प्रियदत्तिन ॥ ६—प्रियदत्तिनो,  
 प्रियदत्तिने, प्रियदत्तिस, प्रियदत्तिसा, हयिस, त्वामित्य, चक्रवर्तिनो ॥ ७—अंतेवासीभ्यु ॥  
 (11) अविमनसू etc. ॥ १—Pl. अविमना, अविमन (masc.) ॥ २—यसो, भुय,  
 भुये (neut.) ॥ ७—सिरसि ॥ Cf. the declensional forms in Chapters  
 X-XII, Notes.

As to the confusion of number, we have हेमंतान्, गिम्हान् as well as  
 वासानं. For the confusion of gender, cf. वरिसानि, संबद्धरं (nom.  
 sing.), खनियं, etc. महासेनापतिनि, महादानपतिनि, etc. are interesting  
 feminine forms.

षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ।—सर्वनामविधिः ॥

#### Chapter VI—Declension of Pronouns and Numerals.

This chapter deals mainly with the declension of pronouns and  
 numerals. The chapter actually forms part of Ch. V. In the  
 commentary on PP. by Rāma Pānivāḍa (born 1707 A. D.) both  
 Ch. V and Ch. VI have been given as Ch. V, and it is interesting  
 that only eight chapters (the genuine part of the PP) are commented  
 upon. It is also noteworthy that Rāma Pānivāḍa composed his  
*Kaṃsavaho* in the language of the original PP, i. e. the so-  
 called Mahārāṣṭrī variety of Prakrit speech.

सर्वादेर्जस एत्वम् ॥१॥ *Jas* (nom. plu) becomes *e* when it follows  
 the words *sarva*, etc. सर्वे = सव्वे ; ये = जे ; ते = ते ; के = के, कतरे = कदरे ॥

ऊः स्तिस्मि-स्थाः ॥२॥ After the words, *sarva*, etc. (S. 1), *ssim*, *mmi*  
 and *ttha* are substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) सर्वस्मिन् = सव्वस्तिं, सव्वस्मि,  
 सव्वत्थ ; इतरस्मिन् = इअरस्तिं, इअरस्मि, इअरत्थ ॥

इदमेतत्किञ्चित्तद्गद्यष्टा इणा वा ॥३॥ After the words *idam*, *etad*, *kim*,  
*yad* and *tad*, *imā* is optionally substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.).  
 अनेन = इमिणा, इमेण ; एतेन = एदिणा, एदेण ; केन = किणा, केण ; येन = जिणा, जेण ; तेन =  
 तिणा, तेण ॥

**आमा एसिं ॥४॥** After the words *īdam*, etc. (S. 3), *esim* is optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). एषाम्=इमेसिं, इमाण ; एतेषाम्=एदेसिं, एदाण ; केषाम्=केसिं, काण ; येषाम्=जेसिं, जाण ; तेषाम्=तेसिं, ताण ॥

**किंयसद्वयो ङ्स आसः ॥५॥** *Āsa* is optionally substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad*. कस्य=कास, कस्स ; यस्य=जास, जस्स ; तस्य=तास, तस्स ॥ Cf *supra*, I, 17, notes.

**इत्थः स्सा से ॥६॥** *Ssā* and *se* are substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after the pronouns *kim*, *yad* and *tad*, when they are declined like nouns (fem.) ending in *i*. कस्याः=किस्सा, कीसे ; also कीआ, कीए, कीअ, कीइ, [कीउ] (*supra*, V, 22) । यस्याः = जिस्सा, जीसे ; also जीआ, जीए जीअ, जीइ, [जीउ] । तस्याः = तिस्सा, तीसे ; also तीआ, तीए, तीअ, तीइ, [तीउ] ॥

**केहिं ॥७॥** *Hiṃ* is optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad*. कस्मिन् = कहिं ; also कस्सिं, कम्मि, कत्थ (S. 2) । यस्मिन् = जहिं ; also जस्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ । तस्मिन् = तहिं ; also तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ ॥

**आहे इया काले ॥८॥** Var lect. ०च काले ॥ *Āhe* and *īā* are optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after the above words in the sense of time (cf. *Pāṇ.*, V, 3, 15). कदा = काहे, कहआ ; also कहिं, etc (S. 7) । यदा = जाहे, जइआ ; also जहिं, etc. । तदा = ताहे, तइआ ; also तहिं, etc.

**तो दो ङ्सेः ॥९॥** *Tto* and *do* are substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after the same pronouns. कस्मात् = कत्तो, कदो ; यस्मात् = जत्तो, जदो ; तस्मात् = तत्तो, तदो ॥

**तद् ओअ ॥१०॥** *O* is optionally substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after the pronoun *tad*. तत् = तो ; also तत्तो, तदो (S. 9; cf. *supra*, IV, 6) ॥ The *a* is considered to be elided before *o* by IV, 1.

**ङ्सा से ॥११॥** *Se* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *tad* together with *nas* (gen. sing.). तस्य, तस्याः = से ; also for masc तास, तस्स (*supra*, S. 5) ॥ Hem. allows the form in all the genders for *īdam*, *etad* and *tad*.

**आमा सिं ॥१२॥** *Sim* is optionally substituted for the word *tad* together with *ām* (gen. plu.). तेषां, तासां = सिं ; also ताण ( or ताण ), तेषिं (S. 4) ॥ Item. allows the form for *īdam*, *etad* and *tad* in all the genders.

**किमः कः ॥१३॥** *Ka* is substituted for the pronoun *kim* when followed by case-affixes. १—को । के ॥ ३—केण । केहिं ॥ etc.

**इदमः इमः ॥१४॥** *Ima* is substituted for the pronoun *īdam* when followed by case-affixes. १—इमो । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण । इमेहिं ॥ etc.

**स्स-स्सिमोय्हा ॥१५॥** *A* is optionally substituted for *īdam* when followed by the Prakrit case-affixes *ssu* (gen. sing.) and *ssim* (loc. sing.). अत्य=अत्स, इमत्स ; अस्मिन्=अस्सिं, इमस्सिं ॥ Cf V, 8; VI, 2.

**हेदेन हः ॥१६॥** *Ha* is optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) together with the *da* of *īdam*. अस्मिन्=इह ; also अस्सिं, इमस्सिं, इमम्मि (cf. S. 2, 15), but not इमत्थ (cf. S. 2, 17) ॥

**न त्थः ॥१७॥** *Ttha* is not substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) when it follows *īdam* (cf. S. 2).

**नपुंसके स्वमोदिमिणिमिणमो ॥१८॥** When followed by *su* (nom. sing.) and *am* (acc. sing.) in the neuter gender, *īdam*, *īṇam* and *īṇamo* are substituted for *īdam* together with the case-affixes.

**एतद् सावोत्वं वा ॥१९॥** When *etad* is followed by *su* (nom. sing.), the substitution of *o* for *su* is optional Cf *supra*, V. 1 एषः = एस, एसो ॥

**तो ङ्गो ॥२०॥** *Tto* is optionally substituted for *naṣi* (abl. sing.) when it follows *etad*. Cf. S. 21 एतस्मात्, अतः = एत्तो ; also एदादो, एदादु, एदाहि (cf. V. 6) ॥

**तोत्थयोस्तलोपः ॥२१॥** *Ta* of *etad* is dropped when followed by *tto* (S. 20) and *ttha* (S. 2). एतस्मात् = एत्तो ; एतस्मिन् = एत्थ ( K. इत्थ ) ॥ Cf. *supra*, IV, 6 for the elision of the final *d*.

**तथेतदोः सः साधनपुंसके ॥२२॥** *Sa* is substituted for the *ta* of *tad* and *etad* in the masculine and feminine (but not in the neuter) before

*su* (nom. sing.). सः पुरुषः=सो पुरिसो (Hem. also allows स ; III, 3)। सा महिला=सा महिला ॥ एसो, एस (S. 19) ; एसा ॥ Hem. (III, 85) allows एस also in the neuter.

अदसो वो मुः ॥२३॥ *Mu* is optionally substituted for the *da* of *adas* before the case-affixes (cf. also *supra*\*, IV, 6) and the word is declined as a noun ending in *u*. असौ पुरुषः=अमू पुरिसो । असौ महिला=अमू महिला । अमी पुरुषाः=अमूओ पुरिसा । अमूः महिलाः=अमूओ महिलाओ । अदः वनमू=अमुं वणं । अमूनि वनानि=अमुइं वणाइं ॥

हअ सौ ॥२४॥ *Ha* (which does not admit any case-affix and remains the same in all the three genders) is optionally substituted for the *da* of the pronoun *adas* (cf. IV, 6.) before *su* (nom. sing.). अह पुरिसो । अह महिला । अह वणं ॥

पदस्य ॥२५॥ The word *pada* means a word together with its case-affix. This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf. I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules up to S. 53 refer to substitutes of *padas*.

युष्मदस्तं तुमं ॥२६॥ *Tam* and *tumam* are substituted for the *pada* *yushmad + su* (nom. sing.). *Su* comes here from S. 24. त्वम्=तं, तुमं ॥

तुं चामि ॥२७॥ *Tum* is also substituted for *yushmad + am* (acc. sing.). त्वाम्, त्वा=तुं ; alternately also तुमं (and तं ? ) ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

तुज्जे तुम्हे जसि ॥२८॥ *Tujjhe* and *tumhe* are substituted for *yushmad + jas* (nom. plu.). यूयम्=तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥

वो च शसि ॥२९॥ *Vo* is also substituted for *yushmad + sas* (acc. plu.). युष्मान्, वः=वो, also तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥

टाव्योस्तइ तय तुमय तुमे ॥३०॥ Var. lect. ०तए (K.) ॥ *Tas*, *tae*, *tumae* and *tume* (*tue* according to K.) are substituted for *yushmad + tā* (inst. sing.) and *yushmad + nī* (loc. sing.). त्वया, त्वयि=तइ, तए, तुमए, तुमे (K. तए ) ॥

ऊसि तुमो-तुह-तुज्ज-तुम्हा-तुम्माः ॥३१॥ Var. lect. ०तुव-तुमो-तुह-तुज्ज-तुम्भ-तुम्हाः (K.) ॥ *Tumo*, *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tumha* and *tumma* are substituted

for *yushmad* + *ñas* (gen. sing.), i. e. for *tava*, *te*. K. ignores *tumma*, but adds *tuva* and *tubbha* to the list of substitutes. Note that *tumma* is only a modification of *tumha*.

**आहि च ते दे ॥३२॥** *Ān* of the eastern school of Indian grammarians is the same as *tā* (inst. sing.) of the western school. *Te* and *de* are substituted for *yushmad* + *ān* (inst. sing.) and also for *yushmad* + *ñas* (gen. sing.). *त्वया* and *तव, ते=ते, दे* ॥ Cf. S. 31.

**तुमाइ च ॥३३॥** *Tumāi* is optionally substituted for *yushmad* + *ān* (inst. sing.). *त्वया=तुमाइ* ॥

**तुज्जेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं मिसि ॥३४॥** Var. lect. *tujjehi* *tumhehi* *misi* (K) ॥ *Tujjhehi*, *tumhehi* and *tummehi* are substituted for *yushmad* + *bhis* (inst. plu.). *युष्माभिः=तुज्जेहिं, तुम्हेहिं, तुम्मेहिं* ॥ K ignores *tummehi* (which is merely a modification of *tumhehi* or *hi*) and prefers *tujjhehi* and *tumhehi* without the final *anusvāra* (cf. IV, 16).

**ऊसौ तत्तो तइत्तो तुमादो तुमाडु तुमाहि ॥३५॥** *Tatto*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad* + *nas* (abl. sing.). *त्वत्=तत्तो, तइत्तो, तुमादो, तुमाडु, तुमाहि* ॥

**तुम्हाहिन्यो तुम्हासुन्यो भ्यसि ॥३६॥** *Tumhāhinto* and *tumhāsunto* are substituted for *yushmad* + *bhyas* (abl. plu.). *युष्मत्=तुम्हाहिन्यो, तुम्हासुन्यो* ॥

**वो मे तुज्जाणं तुम्हाणमामि ॥३७॥** *Vo*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad* + *ām* (gen. plu.). *युष्माक्म्, वः=वो, मे, तुज्जाणं, तुम्हाणं* ॥

**जौ तुमम्मि ॥३८॥** Var. lect. *tumammi* *tummitti* (K) ॥ *Tumammi* is optionally substituted for *yushmad* + *ni* (loc. sing.). For other forms, see S. 30. K. gives two substitutes, viz. *tumammi* and *tumassim*. *त्वयि=तुमम्मि, तुमत्ति* ॥

**तुज्जेसु तुम्हेसु सुपि ॥३९॥** *Tujjhesu* and *tumhesu* are substituted for *yushmad* + *sup* (loc. plu.). *युष्मासु=तुज्जेसु, तुम्हेसु* ॥

**अस्मदो ह्महमहमं सौ ॥४०॥** *Ham*, etc., are substituted for *asmad* +

*su* (nom. sing.). अहम्=हं, अहं, अहम् ॥ For the last form, cf. Māgadhi (XI, 9) *hake, hage, ahake* and Ins. *hakam*.

अहम्मिरमि च ॥४१॥ Var. lect. मिरमि च (K.) ॥ *Ahammi* is substituted for *asmad+am* (acc. sing.) and also *asmad+su* (nom. sing.). अहम् and माम्, मा=अहम्मि (K नि) ॥

मं ममं ॥४२॥ *Mam* and *mamam* are substituted for *asmad+am* (acc. sing.). माम्, मा=मं, ममं ॥

अम्हे जइशसोः ॥४३॥ *Amhe* is substituted for *asmad+jas* (nom. plu.) and *asmad+śas* (acc. plu.). वयम् and अस्मान्, नः=अम्हे ॥

णो शसि ॥४४॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *asmad+śas* (acc. plu.). अस्मान्, नः=णो ॥ Some Mss. read *ne* as in Hem ; but K ignores this *Sūtra*.

आङि मे ममाइ ॥४५॥ *Me* and *mamū* are substituted for *asmad+ān* (inst. sing.). मया=मे, ममाइ ॥ For the latter form, cf. Aśoka's ममया, ममिया, etc in Notes below.

डौ च मह मए ॥४६॥ *Mai* and *mae* are substituted for *asmad+nī* (loc. sing.) and *asmad+ān* (inst. sing.). मयि, मया=मइ, मए ॥

अम्हेहिं मिसि ॥४७॥ Var. lect. अम्हेहि (K.) ॥ *Amhehiṃ* is substituted for *asmad+bhis* (inst. plu.). अस्माभिः=अम्हेहिं (K. अम्हेहि) ॥

मत्तो महत्तो ममादो ममादु ममाहि डत्तौ ॥४८॥ *Matto*, etc. are substituted for *asmad+nasī* (abl. sing.). मत्=मत्तो, महत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाहि ॥

अम्हाहिन्तो अम्हासुन्तो भ्यसि ॥४९॥ *Amhāhinto* and *amhāsunto* are substituted for *asmad+bhyas* (abl. plu.). अस्मत्=अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥

मे मम मह मज्झ डसि ॥५०॥ *Me*, etc. are substituted for *asmad+nas* (gen. sing.). मम, मे=मे, मम, मह, मज्झ ॥ Cf. मज्झ<मह्य>महि (for महिय) in C. Asian documents.

मज्झ णो अम्ह अम्हाणमम्हे आमि ॥५१॥ Var. lect. णो अम्ह० (K.) ॥

*Majjha*, etc., are substituted for *asmad*+*ām* (gen. plu.). अस्माकम्, नः=मज्झ, णो, अम्ह, अम्हाणं, अम्हे ॥ Some Mss. have *ne* for *no*. K. ignores *majjha*; but Hem. has *ne*, *no*, *majjha*, *amha*, *amham*, *amhe*, *amho*, *amhāṇa*, *mamāṇa* and *mahāṇa*.

ममम्मि ऊँ ॥५२॥ Var. lect. ममम्मि ममस्सिं ऊँ (K.) ॥ *Mamammī* is substituted for *asmad*+*ni* (loc. sing.). मयि=ममम्मि (K. also ममस्सिं) ॥ Cf. S. 46.

अम्हेसु सुपि ॥५३॥ *Amhesu* is substituted for *asmad*+*sup* (loc. plu.). अस्मासु=अम्हेसु ॥

द्वेदो ॥५४॥ *Do* is substituted for *dvi* before *sup*, i.e. all the case-affixes. द्वाभ्याम्=दोहिं ; द्वयोः=दोसु ॥ Cf. S. 57.

त्रेस्तिः ॥५५॥ *Ti* is substituted for *tri* before all the case-affixes and the word is declined like a noun ending in *i*. त्रिभिः (fem. तिसृभिः) =तोहिं ; त्रिषु (fem. तिसृषु)=तीसु ॥ Cf. V, 18; VI, 60.

तिणिण जसशस्त्र्याम् ॥५६॥ *Tiṇṇa* is substituted for *tri*+*jas* (nom. plu.) and *tri*+*śas* (acc. plu.). त्रयः, त्रीन् (neut. त्रीणि ; fem. तिस्रः)=तिणिण ॥

द्वेदुवे दोणि वा ॥५७॥ *Duve* and *doṇi* are optionally substituted for *dvi*+*jas* (nom. plu.) and *dvi*+*śas* (acc. plu.). द्वौ (fem. and neut. द्वे)=दुवे, दोणि ॥ Cf. S. 54.

चतुरश्चत्तारो चत्तारि ॥५८॥ *Chattāro* and *chattāri* are substituted for *chatur*+*jas* (nom. plu.) and *chatur*+*śas* (acc. plu.). चत्वारः (neut. चत्वारि ; fem. चतस्रः)=चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥

एवामामो णं ॥५९॥ *Nham* is substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.) after the words *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*. द्वयोः=दोणं ; त्रयाणाम्, तिसृणाम्=तिणं ; चतुर्णाम्, चतसृणाम्=चतुरणं or चउणं ॥ K. ignores the *anusvāra* in *doṇham*, etc.

शेषोऽस्तवत् ॥६०॥ The rest of the rules regarding declension

are the same as those for words ending in *a*. As for instance, the rule *bhiso him* (V, 5) given for words ending in *a*, should also apply to masculine words ending in *i* and *u* (e.g. अग्गीहि, वाऊहि, etc.), and to feminine words ending in *ā*, *ī* and *ū* (e.g. मालाहि, णईहि, वहुहि, etc.; cf. V, 19), and also to numerals (e.g., दोहि, तीहि, चऊहि, etc. ; cf. S. 54-55.).

न ङिस्सोरेवातौ ॥६१॥ *E* and *ā* are not substituted respectively for *ni* (loc. sing.) and *niā* (abl. sing.) in the case of nouns ending in *i* and *u*. Cf. V, 6 and 9. अग्गी=अग्गिम्मि ; वायो=वाउम्मि । अग्नेः=अग्गीणे, अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि ; वायोः=वाऊदो, वाऊदु, वाऊहि ॥

ए भ्यसि ॥६२॥ *E* (also *ā*?) is not substituted for the final vowel of nouns ending in *i* and *u*, when *bhyas* (abl. plu.) follows. Cf. V, 7 and 12. अग्भिः=अग्गीहिन्तो, अग्गीसुन्तो ; वायुभ्यः=वाऊहिन्तो, वाऊसुन्तो ॥

द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनम् ॥६३॥ The plural must be used instead of the dual in all cases both for the cases of nouns and for the forms of verbs. वृत्तौ=वच्छा ; वृत्ताभ्याम्=वच्छेहि ; तिष्ठतः=चिद्दन्ति ॥ There are violations, though very rare, of this rule in Epigraphic Prakrit.

चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी ॥६४॥ The genitive case-affix must be used instead of the dative. ब्राह्मणाय=बम्हणस्स ; ब्राह्मणेभ्यः=बम्हणाण ॥ Note that in the earlier stage of the language as represented by Pāli and inscriptions, the dative is sometimes found to be used ; but the former uses dative forms only in the singular. Hem. also notices that occasionally dat. sing. forms are used in Prakrit. He also allows gen. for acc., inst., abl. and loc. ; loc. for acc. and instr. ; loc. and instr. for abl. ; and acc. for loc. He further says that in AMg. sometimes inst. is used for loc., and acc. is used for nom. Hem.'s additional rules are : “[चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी] तादर्थ्येर्वा” ॥३११३२॥ देवाय=देवस्स, देवाय ॥ “वधाद्वाइव वा” ॥३११३३॥ वधार्थम्=वहाइ, वहुस्स, वहाय ॥ “क्वचिद्वितीयादेः” ॥३११३४॥ २—सीमा-धरस्स वन्दे । ३—धनेन सम्भः=वणस्स लद्धो ; चिरेण मुक्ता=चिरस्स मुक्ता । ५—चोराद्विभेति=चोरस्स वीहइ । ७—पिट्ठीए (पिड्ढस्स?) केसमारो ॥ “द्वितीयावृतीययोः सप्तमी” ॥३११३५॥



२—गामे न जामि । ३—द्विमिस्तैरलङ्कृता पृथिवी=तिसु तेसु अलङ्कित्वा पुद्गवी ॥ “पञ्चम्या-  
स्तृतीया च [सप्तमी च] ॥ ३।१३६॥ ३—चोरेण बोहइ । ७—अन्तःपुराद् रन्त्वा आगतो  
राजा=अन्तेउरे रमितमागओ राया ॥ “सप्तम्या द्वितीया” ॥ ३।१३७॥ विद्युद्द्योतं स्मरति  
राक्षी=विज्जुज्जोयं भरइ रसिं ॥ “आर्थे तृतीयापि” ॥ तस्मिन् काले=तेणं कालेणं ॥  
“प्रथमाया अपि द्वितीया” ॥ चउवीसं पि जिणवरा ॥

### NOTES.

**Summary. Declension of Pronouns.** (1) सर्व ॥ (a) Masc. १—सव्वो ।  
सव्वे ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वे ॥ ३—सव्वेण । सव्वेहिं, सव्वेहि ॥ ५—सव्वादो, सव्वाडु,  
सव्वाहि । सव्वाहिन्तो, सव्वासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्स । सव्वाणं, मव्वाण ॥ ७—सव्वस्सिं,  
सव्वम्मि, सव्वत्थ । सव्वेसुं, सव्वेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सव्वा । सव्वाओ, सव्वाउ,  
सव्वा ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वाओ, सव्वाउ ॥ ३—सव्वाइ, मव्वाए । सव्वाहिं, सव्वाहि ॥ ४, ६  
—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए । सव्वाणं, सव्वाण ॥ ५—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए, सव्वादो, सव्वाडु, सव्वाहि ।  
सव्वाहिन्तो, सव्वासुन्तो ॥ ७—सव्वाइ, मव्वाए । सव्वासुं, सव्वासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २  
—सव्वं । सव्वाइ, सव्वाइ, सव्वाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (2) इदम् ॥  
(a) Masc. १—इमो । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण, इमिणा । इमेहिं, इमेहि ॥ ५  
—इमादो, इमाडु, इमाहि । इमाहिन्तो, इमासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—इमस्स, अस्स । इमाणं,  
इमाण, इमेसिं ॥ ७—इमस्सिं, इमम्मि, अस्सिं, इह । इमेसुं, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem.  
१—इमा । इमाओ, इमाउ, इमा ॥ २—इमं । इमाओ, इमाउ ॥ ३—इमाइ, इमाए ।  
इमाहिं, इमाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.). (c) Neut. १, २—इदं, इणं,  
इणमो । इमाइ, इमाइ, इमाणि । The rest is as in masc. (3) किम् ॥ (a) Masc.  
१—को । के ॥ २—कं । के ॥ ३—केण, किणा । केहिं, केहि ॥ ५—कदो, कतो ।  
काहिन्तो, कासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—कस्स, कास । काणं, काण, केसिं ॥ ७—कस्मिं, कम्मि,  
कत्थ, कहिं, कस्सि, काहे, कइआ ॥ केसुं, केसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—का । काओ, काउ,  
कीओ, कीउ ॥ २—कं । plu. as nom. plu. ॥ ३—कीणा, काए, काइ, कीए, कीइ,  
कीअ, कीआ । काहिं, काहि, कीहिं, कोहि ॥ ५—कादो, काडु, कीदो कीडु, also inst.  
sing. forms except *kīṇā*. । काहिन्तो, कासुन्तो, कीहिन्तो, कीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—  
कत्सा, किस्सा, कासे, कीसे, कीए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ, काइ, काए । कासां, केसिं,  
कासिं, काणं, काण, कीणं, कीण, कीसिं ॥ ७—काए, काइ, कोए, कीइ, कोअ, कीआ,  
काहे, कइआ । कासुं, कासु, कीसुं, कीसु ॥

(c) Neut. १, २—कं । काइ', काइ, काणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (4) यद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—जो । जे ॥ २—जं । जे ॥ ३—जेण, जिणा । जेहिं, जेहि ॥ ५—जत्तो, जंदो । जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जस्स, जास । जाणं, जाण, जेसिं ॥ ७—जस्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ, जहिं, जाहे, जइआ, जस्सि । जेसुं, जेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—जा । जाओ, जाउ, जीओ, जीउ ॥ २—जं । as nom. plu. ॥ ३—जीणा, जाए, जाइ, जीइ, जीए, जीअ, जीआ । जाहिं, जाहि, जीहिं, जीहि ॥ ५—जादो, जाडु, जीदो, जीडु, also inst. sing. forms except *jīṇā* । जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो, जीहिन्तो, जीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जस्सा, जिस्सा, जासे, जीसे, जीए, जीइ, जीअ, जीआ, जाइ, जाए । जासां, जेसिं, जासिं, जाणं, जाण, जीणं, जीण, जीसिं ॥ ७—जाए, जाइ, जीए, जीइ, जीअ, जीआ, जाहे, जइआ । जासुं, जासु, जीसुं, जीसु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—जं । जाइ', जाइ, जाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (5) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—तो । ते ॥ २—तं । ते ॥ ३—तेण, तिणा । तेहिं, तेहि ॥ ५—तत्तो, तदो, तो । ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तस्स, तास, से । तेसिं, ताणं, ताण, सिं ॥ ७—तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, तहिं, ताहे, तइआ, तस्सि । तेसुं, तेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सा । ताओ, ताउ, तीओ, तीउ ॥ २—तं । as nom. plu. ॥ ३—ताइ, ताए, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, तीणा । ताहिं, ताहि, तीहिं, तीहि ॥ ५—तादो, ताडु, तीदो, तीडु, also inst. sing. forms except *tīṇā* । ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो, तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तस्सा, तिस्सा, तासे, तीसे, ताए, ताइ, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, से । तासां, तेसिं, तासिं, ताणं, ताण, तीणं, तीण, तीसिं, सिं ॥ ७—ताए, ताइ, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, ताहे, तइआ । तासुं, तासु, तीसुं, तीसु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तं । ताइ', ताइ, ताणि । The rest is as in masc. (6) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—एस, एसो । एदे ॥ २—एदं । एदे ॥ ३—एदेण, एदिणा । एदेहिं, एदेहि ॥ ५—एत्तो, एदादो, एदाडु, एदाहि । एदाहिन्तो, एदासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—एदस्स । एदेसिं, एदाणं, एदाण ॥ ७—एदस्सिं, एदम्मि, एत्थ, इत्थ । एदेसुं, एदेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा । एदाओ, एदाउ ॥ २—एदं । एदाओ, एदाउ ॥ ३—एदाइ, एदाए । एदाहिं, एदाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.) and इदम् (fem.). (c) Neut. १, २—एदं । एदाइ', एदाइ, एदाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (7) अदस् ॥ (a) Masc. १—अमू, अह । अमूओ, अमुणो ॥ २—अमुं । अमू, अमुणो, अमू ॥ ३—अमुणा । अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ५—अमूदो, अमूडु, अमूहि । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥

४, ६—अमुणो, अमुस्स । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—अमुस्ति, अमुम्मि, अमुत्थ । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—अमू, अह । अमूओ, अमूउ, अमू ॥ २—अमुं । अमूओ, अमूउ, अमू ॥ ३—अमूए, अमूइ, अमूअ, अमूआ । अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ४—अमूदो, अमूदु, अमूदि, also inst. sing. forms । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६— as inst. sing. । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—as inst. sing. । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (c) Neut. १—अह, अमुं । अमूहं, अमूइ, अमूणि ॥ २—अमुं । अमूइ, अमूणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (8) पुष्मद् ॥ १—तुमं, तं । तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥ २—तं(?) , तुं, तुमं । तुज्जे, तुम्हे, वो ॥ ३—तइ, तए, तुए, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ, ते, दे । तुज्जेहिं, तुज्जेहि, तुम्हेहिं, तुम्हेहि, तुम्मेहिं ॥ ४—तत्तो, तइत्तो, तुमादो, तुमादु, तुमाहि । तुम्हाहिन्तो, तुम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तुमो, तुह, तुज्ज, तुम्म, तुम्ह, ते, दे, तुव । वो, मे, तुज्जकाणं, तुम्हाणं ॥ ७—तइ, तए, तुए, तुमए, तुमे, तुमम्मि, तुमस्सि । तुज्जेसु, तुम्हेसु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं, हं, अहअं, अहम्मि, मि । अम्हे (Saur. वअं) ॥ २—मं, ममं, अहम्मि, मि । अम्हे, णो, णे ॥ ३—मे, मए, मइ, ममाइ । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ४—मत्तो, मइत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाइ । अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मम, मह, मज्ज । णो, अम्ह, अहाणं, अम्हे, मज्ज, अम्हो ॥ ७—मइ, मए, ममम्मि, ममस्सि । अम्हेसु ॥

*Declension of Numerals.* (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दो, दुवे, दोणि ॥ ३—दोहिं ॥ ४—दोहिन्तो, दोसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—दोएहं, ०एह ॥ ७—दोसु ॥ (2) ति ॥ १, २—तिणि ॥ ३—तोहिं ॥ ४, ६—तिएहं, ०एह ॥ ५—तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ७—तोसु ॥ (3) चतुर् ॥ १, २—चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥ ३—चऊहिं, चतुहिं ॥ ४—चऊहिन्तो, चऊसुन्तो, चतुसुन्तो, चतुहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—चउएहं, ०एह, चतुएहं, ०एह ॥ ७—चऊसु, चतुसु ॥

*Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Hemachandra. Pronouns.* (1) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—as in PP. ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वे, सव्वा ॥ ३—सव्वेण, सव्वेणं । सव्वेहि, सव्वेहिं, सव्वेहिं ॥ ४—सव्वत्तो, etc. as in वृद्ध । सव्वत्तो, etc. as in वृद्ध ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्स । सव्वेसिं, सव्वाण, सव्वाणं ॥ ७—सव्वस्सिं, सव्वम्मि, सव्वहिं, सव्वत्थ । सव्वेसु, सव्वेसुं ॥ (2) तद् (masc.) ॥ १—स, सो । ते, ये ॥ २—तं, णं । ते, ता, ये, णा ॥ ३—तेण, येण, तिणा । तेहिं, etc., येहिं, etc. ॥ ४—तम्हा, ताओ, तो, तत्तो, तदो, तओ । तेहिं, etc. ॥ ६—तस्स, तास, से । तास, तेसिं, सिं ॥ ७—तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, ताहे, ताणा, तइआ । तेसु, तेसुं, येसु, येसुं ॥ *Yad*

becomes *ja* (fem. *jā*, and in some cases *jī*); *kīm*=*ka* (fem. *kā*, and in some cases *ki*); *idam*=*ima*; *etad*=*eya*, *ea*. These are declined like *sarvā*. The peculiar forms are noticed below. *Kim* has in abl. sing. *kiṇo* and *kīsa*. *Idam* (masc.) has *ayaṃ* and *imo* in nom. sing. It has in fem. nom. sing. *imīyā* and *imā*; in masc. acc. sing. *inaṃ* and *imaṃ*; in gen. sing. *assa* and *imassa*; in loc. sing. *assim*, *imassim* and *iha*, etc. It has also the defective forms from the base *ṇa* (cf. *tad*) in acc. sing. and plu. and in inst. sing. and plu. *णं* । *ये* ॥ *येषु* । *येहि* ॥ *Etad*+*su*=*esa*, *eso*; *inaṃ*, *inamo*, *eaṃ*; *esā*. *Idam*, *tad* and *etad* have in gen. sing. *se* and in gen. plu. *siṃ*. *Etad*+*nasī*=*ettāhe*. *Adas*+*su*=*amu*, *aḥa*; masc. loc. sing. *ayammi*, *iyammi*, *amummi*.

युष्मद् ॥ १—तं, तुं, तुवं, तुह, तुमं । मे, तुब्मे, तुज्म, तुम्ह, तुय्हे, उय्हे, तुम्हे, तुज्मे ॥ २—तं, तुं, तुमं, तुवं, तुह, तुमे, तुए । वो, तुज्म, तुब्मे, तुय्हे, उय्हे, मे ॥ ३—मे, दि, दे, ते, तइ, तए, तुमं, तुमइ, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ । भे, तुब्मेहिं, उज्मेहिं, उम्हेहिं, तुय्हेहिं, उय्हेहिं तुम्हेहिं, तुज्मेहिं ॥ ४—(*tto*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *ā* are to be added to the five bases तइ, तुव, तुम, तुह, and तुब्म and to तुम्ह and तुज्म to get the forms), तइतो, etc. (*hi*, *ā* are not allowed with तइ), तुवतो, etc., तुमतो, etc., तुहतो etc., तुब्मतो, etc., तुम्हतो, etc., तुज्मतो, etc., also ततो, also तुय्ह, तुब्म, तहिनतो, तुम्ह, तुज्म । (*tto*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *sunto* are to be added to the bases तुब्म, तुय्ह, उम्ह, उय्ह, तुम्ह and तुज्म to get the forms) ॥ ५, ६—तइ, तु, ते, तुम्हं, तुह, तुहं, तुव, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमाइ, दि, दे, इ, ए, तुब्म, उब्म, उय्ह, तुम्ह, तुज्म, उम्ह, उज्म । तु, वो, मे, तुब्म, तुम्भं, तुब्भाण, तुवाण, तुमाण, तुहाण, उम्हाण, तुम्भाणं, तुवाणं, तुमाणं, तुहाणं, उम्हाणं, तुम्ह, तुज्म, तुम्हं, तुज्मं, तुम्हाणं, तुम्हाण, तुज्माणं, तुज्माण ॥ ७—तुमे, तुमए, तुमाइ, तइ, तए, also other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases तु, तुव, तुम, तुह, तुब्म, तुम्ह and तुज्म, e.g., तुम्मि, etc. । forms by adding *su* to तु, तुव, तुम, तुह, तुब्म, तुम्ह, तुज्म, e.g. तुसु, तुवसु, तवेसु, etc. ॥ अस्मद् ॥ १—मि, अमि, अम्हि, हं, अहं, अहयं । अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, मो, वयं, मे ॥ २—ए, णं, मि, अमि, अम्ह, मम्ह, मं, ममं, मिमं, अहं । अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह, ए ॥ ३—मि, मे, ममं, ममए, ममाइ, मइ, मए, मयाइ, ए । अम्हेहि,

अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे, यो ॥ ५—forms by adding *tto, do, du, hi, hinto* and *ā* to the four bases मइ, मम, मह, मज्झ, e.g., महत्तो, etc. (*hi, ā* are not allowed with मइ), ममतो, etc., also मत्तो । ममतो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो, ममाहुन्तो, अम्हाहुन्तो, ममेहुन्तो, अम्हेहुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मह, मम, मह, मह, मज्झ, मज्झं, अम्ह, अम्हं । यो, यो, मज्झ, अम्ह, अम्हं, अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्हाण, ममाण, महाण, मज्झाण, also अम्हाण, etc. ॥ ७—मि. मह, ममाइ, मए, मे. other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases अम्ह, मम, मह, मज्झ, e.g., अम्हम्मि, etc. ॥ अम्हेसु, ममेसु, महसु, मज्जेसु ; also अम्हसु, etc., also अम्हासु etc. ॥

*Numerals.* एक=एक, एग, declined in sing like वृत्त ॥ द्वि becomes दो or वे ; in nom. and acc. दुवे, दोरिण, वेरिण ; inst. दोहिं, वेहिं ; abl. दोहिंतो, वेहिंतो ; gen. दोएहं, वेएहं ; loc. दोसु, वेसु ॥ त्रि=ती ॥ चतुर has in nom. and acc. चत्तारो, चउरो, चत्तारि ; and चऊहिं, चऊहिंतो, चउएहं, चऊसु respectively in the remaining case-affixes.

#### Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Pāli. *Pronouns.* (1) सर्व ॥

(a) Maso. १—सब्बो । सब्बे ॥ २—सब्बं । सब्बे ॥ ३—सब्बेन । सब्बेभि, सब्बेहि ॥ ५—सब्बम्हा, सब्बस्मा । सब्बेभि, सब्बेहि ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्स । सब्बेसं, सब्बेसानं ॥ ७—सब्बम्मि, सब्बस्मिं । सब्बेसु ॥ Voc. सब्ब, सब्बा । सब्बा ॥ (b) Fem. १—सब्बा । सब्बा, सब्बायो ॥ २—सब्बं । सब्बा, सब्बायो ॥ ३, ५—सब्बाय । सब्बाभि, सब्बाहि ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्सा, सब्बाय । सब्बासं, सब्बासानं ॥ ७—सब्बस्सं, सब्बायं । सब्बासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—सब्बं । सब्बानि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (2) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—एसो । एते ॥ २—एतं, एनं । एते ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (masc.), i.e., एत as सब्ब ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा । एता, एतायो ॥ २—एतं । एता, एतायो ॥ ३, ५—एताय । एताभि, एताहि ॥ ४, ६—एतिस्साय, एतिस्सा, एताय । एतासं, एतासानं ॥ ७—एतिस्सं, एतस्सं, एतायं । एतासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—एतं । एते, एतानि ॥ (3) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—सो । ते, ने ॥ २—तं, नं । ते, ने ॥ ३—तेन, नेन । तेभि, तेहि, नेभि, नेहि ॥ etc. The rest of both the bases त and न is as सर्व (masc.) । (b) Fem. १—सा । ता, तायो ॥ तं, नं । ता, तायो ॥ ३, ५—ताय, नाय, [तस्सा, नस्सा, अस्सा] । तामि, ताहि, नामि,

नाहि ॥ ४, ६—[तस्साय], तस्सा, [नस्साय, नस्सा], ताय, [नाय, अस्साय, अस्सा],  
 तिस्साय, तिस्सा । तासं, तासानं, [नासं, नासानं, आसं, आसानं, सानं] ॥ ७—  
 तस्सं, [तस्सा, नस्सं, नस्सा, अस्सं, अस्सा], तिस्सं, [तिस्सा, तायं, ताय, नायं, नाय] ।  
 तासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तं, नं । ते, तानि, ने ॥ (4) इदम् ॥ (a) Masc.  
 १—अयं । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—अनेन, इमिना । एमि, एहि, इमेभि,  
 इमेहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्स, इमस्स । एसं, एसानं, इमेसं, इमेसानं ॥ ५—अस्सा, इमम्हा ।  
 plu. as inst. plu. ॥ ७—अस्सिं, इमस्सिं, इमम्हि । एसु, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem.  
 १—अयं । इमा, इमायो ॥ २—इमं । इमा, इमायो ॥ ३, ५—इमाय । इमाभि,  
 इमाहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्साय, अस्सा, इमिस्साय, इमिस्सा, इमाय । इमासं, इमासानं ॥  
 ७—अस्सं, इमिस्सं, इमायं । इमासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—इदं, इमं । इमे,  
 इमानि ॥ (5) युष्मद् ॥ १—त्वं, तुवं । तुम्हे ॥ २—तं, तवं, तुवं, त्वं । तुम्हाकं, तुम्हे ॥  
 ३, ५—त्वया, तया । तुम्हेहि, तुम्हेभि ॥ ४, ६—तव, तुम्हं, तुम्हं । तुम्हाकं,  
 तुम्हं ॥ ७—त्वयि, तयि । तुम्हेसु ॥ (6) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं । मयं, अम्हे ॥  
 २—मं, ममं । अम्हाकं, अम्हे ॥ ३, ५—मया । अम्हेभि, अम्हेहि ॥ ४, ६—  
 मम, ममं, अम्हं, ममं । अम्हाकं, अम्हं ॥ ७—मयि । अम्हेसु ॥

*Numerals.* (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दुवे, द्वे ॥ ३, ५—द्वीभि, द्वीहि ॥ ४,  
 ६—द्विन्नं, दुविन्नं, [द्विन्नं] ॥ ७—द्वीसु ॥ (2) ति ॥ (a) Masc. १,  
 २—तयो ॥ ३, ५—तीभि, तीहि ॥ ४, ६—तिण्णं, तिण्णन्नं ॥ ७—तीसु ॥  
 (b) Fem. १, २—तिस्सो ॥ ४, ६—तिस्सन्नं ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तीनि ॥  
 (3) चतुर् ॥ (a) Masc. १, २—चत्वारो, चतुरो ॥ ३, ५—चत्तुभि, चत्तुहि ॥  
 ४, ६—चतुज्जं ॥ (b) Fem. १, २—चतस्सो ॥ ४, ६—चतस्सन्नं, [चतुज्जं,  
 चतस्सन्नं] ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—चत्तारि ॥

**Epigraphic Prakrit. Pronouns.** Forms noticed in records of  
 different periods are given. There is great confusion in regard to  
 gender. (1) अस्मद् । १—अहं, हकं, अहो । मये, अम्हो, अम्हे ॥ २—मं । अफे,  
 अफेनि ॥ ३—मया, ममया (Hem., III, 109), मे, ममाये, ममिया, ममियाये, मम,  
 ममा, इमियाये । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—ममत्ते ॥ ६—मम, मे, ममा, मम, ममं, हमा,  
 महि, महिय, मयि । ने, अफाक, अफाका, अम्हं ॥ ७—Pl. अफेसु, अफेस् ॥  
 (2) युष्मद् । १—तुओ । तुफे, फे ॥ २—Pl. तुफे, तुफेनि ॥ ३—तुओ ।

तुफेहि ॥ ४—Pl. वे ॥ ६—तहि, दहि, तेहि । तुफाक, तुफाकं, तुपक ॥ ७—Pl.  
 तुफेसु ॥ (3) तद् (masc.) । १—स, सा, से, सो, ते । से, ते, तानि ॥ २—तं ।  
 ३—तेन, तेना । ४—ताय, ताये । तेहि ॥ ५—तफा, ता, तदे । तेहि ॥ ६—तस,  
 तसा, तिस्स । तेस, तेसं, तानं, तन ॥ ७—तम्हि, तसि । तेसु ॥ (4) तद् (neut.) ।  
 १—त, तं, से, सो । २—स, से, तं, सो । स, से, तानि ॥ (5) तद् (fem.) ।  
 १—सा । २—तं । ४—ताये ॥ (6) Secondary base of तद् [and इदम्]  
 (of. पाणिनि २।४।३४ on इदम्) । २—नं । ने (masc.), नानि (neut.) ॥ Cf.  
 Pāli, and Hem., III, 70, 77. (7) एतद् (masc.) । १—एस, एसा, एसे ।  
 एत, एते, एदे ॥ २—एतं ॥ ३—एतेन, एतेनि, एतेना, एतकेन, एतकेना । एतेहि ॥  
 ४—एताय, एतिय, एताये, एतकाय, एतकाये ॥ ६—एतस, एतिस, एतिसा, एदस ।  
 एतेस, एताण, एतेसि ॥ ७—एतम्हि, एतसि । एतेसु ॥ (8) एतद् (neut.) ।  
 १—एत, एतं, एस (Hem., III, 85), एसा, एसे, एतके । एते, एतानि ॥ २—एत,  
 एतं । एतानि ॥ (9) एतद् (fem.) । १—एस, एसा, एताका ॥ ६—से, स ।  
 एतासां ॥ ७—एतये, एतस्य ॥ (10) इदम् (masc.) । १—अयं, इय, इयं, एयं,  
 अयि, इमो । इमे ॥ २—इम, इमं ॥ ३—इमेन, ०ण, इमिना । इमेहि ॥  
 ४—इमाये, इमाया ॥ ५—इतु, इतः, इमदे ॥ ६—इमस, इमसा, इमिस, अस । इमेस ॥  
 ७—इमम्हि ॥ (11) इदम् (neut.) । १—इद, इदं, इयं, इयो, अयं, इम, इमं,  
 इमो । इमानि ॥ २—इदं, इमं ॥ (12) इदम् (fem.) । १—इयं, अयं,  
 अय, अयि । इमा ॥ २—इमं ॥ ४—इमाय, इमाये, इमिस । इमाषां ॥ ५—  
 एतो, अतो, अदेहि ॥ ७—असि, इश, इशे, इममि, इमस्मिं, इज, इशेमि ॥ (13) यद्  
 (masc.) । १—यो (also fem.), ये यं, य, ए । या, ये, ए ॥ २—यं ॥ ३—येन,  
 एन ॥ ५—जतो ॥ ६—यस, अस, असा, यसे । येस, येसं, येषा ॥ ७—Pl. येसु ॥  
 (14) यद् (neut.) । १—य, यं, ये, यो, ए, अ, अं । यानि, आनि ॥ २—य, यं, यो, अं,  
 ए ॥ Cf. यंच=च ॥ (15) किम् । १—कि (neut.) ॥ २—Pl. कानि (masc. and  
 neut.) ॥ Cf. कश्चित्=कचि, कोचि । केचित्=केछि, केछ, केछा । किञ्चित् (कश्चित्)=  
 किचि, किछि, किंचि, किछि, इ'चि, इ'चियं । कानिचित्=केचि, कानिचि ॥ किमिति=किति,  
 किंति, i.e., that (conjunction), in order that. कं—expletive. केन-स्वित्=  
 क्तिंसु । कथम्=किमं, किमं । केनापि=केनपि ॥ (16) अन्यत् (masc.) । १—  
 अन्ये, अने, अने, अने, अनि । अने, अने, अने, अने (later अन्ने) ॥

३—Pl. अनेहि ॥ ४—अनाय, अनाये, अनाये ॥ ६—अनस, अनसा, अनेस । अनानं ॥ ७—अनम्हि । अनेसु ॥ (17) अन्यत् (neut.) । १—अन, अने, अन, अमं, अमे । अनानि, अनानि ॥ २—Pl. अनानि ॥ (18) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—सर्वे, सत्रे, सवे । २—सर्वं, सत्रं ॥ ३—सवेन, सवेना ॥ ६—सवस । सविण ॥ ७—सर्वे, सवे, सवसि । सवेसु, सत्रेसु ॥ (19) सर्व (fem.) । १—सवा ॥ ७—सवाये, ०यि ॥ (20) सर्व (neut.) । १—सवे, सर्वं, सर्वं, सव, सत्रे ॥ २—सर्वं, सर्वं, सत्रं ॥

*Numerals.* (1) एक ॥ १—एको or एके (masc.), इका or एका (fem.) ॥ २—एकं (neut.), इकं (fem.) ॥ ३—एकेन, एककेन ॥ (2) द्वि । १—द्वो (masc.), द्वै (fem.), दुवे (masc. and neut.), दुवि (masc. and fem.), वे (neut.) ॥ ३—दुवेहि (masc.) ॥ ६—दिन ॥ Cf. द्वितीय=दुतिय, दुतीय, बितिय, द्विति । द्विपद=दुपद । उभययोः=उभयेस, उभयेसं ॥ (3) त्रि । १—त्री or ती or त्रयो (masc.), त्रिनि, or ०रिण (neut.), त्रिनि (masc. and neut.) ॥ २—त्रिनि (neut.) ॥ ७—Pl. तीसु (fem.) ॥ Cf. त्रयेण, त्रिति ॥ (4) चतुर् । चत्वारो or चत्तारि or चतुरे (masc.), चत्तारि । चतुहि । चतुंशं, चतुरहं । Cf. चतुथे ॥ Cf. पंचसु । ससु । सतानि, सतेहि, सतेसु । सहस्रानि, सहस्रानि, सहसेहि, सहसेसु, सहसेसुं । इतले । एकतरे, एकतरसि । Cf. पञ्च=पञ्चम । पानंतरीय । अठ । बदस, बारसक, दुबाडस, द्वादस, वारसम । बीसाय । त्रयोदशम, तेरस, लेडस, बोदस । द्वातीशत । पनतिसाहि । अठतिसाय । चोयठि । सतरि ॥

Cf. नास्ति कर्मतरं सर्वलोकहितेन । दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत् अत्रेण पराक्रमेण । शान्तिश्रीः शैलमण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापितं । गतोस्मि वर्षर्तुं पुष्कराणि । सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति) । कदम्बानां (=कदम्बवंशीयः) मयूरशर्मो । भुजमानस्य मे (=भुजमाने मयि or भुजमानं मां) प्रतिवेदयन्तु । साधुमता देवानांप्रियस्य । कर्तव्यमतं मे । यथाकालेन (=यथाकालं), etc.

सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ।—तिङ् विधिः ॥

### Chapter VII—Conjugation.

— त-तिपोरिदौ ॥१॥ *I and e are mutually substituted for ta (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. ātmanepada) and tip (3rd pers. sing. parasmaipada).* पठति, पठते=पठइ, पठए ॥ Cf. S. 5.

— थास्सिपोः सि से ॥२॥ *Si and se are mutually substituted for*



*thās* (2nd pers. sing. *ātmane.*) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing. *parasmai.*).  
पठसि, पठसे=पठसि, पठसे ॥ Cf. S. 5.

**इट्मिपोर्मिः ॥३॥** *Mi* is substituted for *it* (1st pers. sing. *ātmane.*) and *mip* (1st pers. sing. *parasmai.*). पठामि, पठे=पठामि ॥

**न्ति-हेत्या-मो-मु-मा बहुषु ॥४॥** Var. lect. न्ति-इ-या-मो (K.) ॥ In the plural number of the present tense, *nti* is used for the 3rd pers., *ha* and *itthā* for the 2nd pers., and *mo*, *mu* and *ma* for the 1st pers. पठन्ति=पठन्ति ॥ पठय=पठह, पठित्या ॥ पठाम=पठामो, पठामु, पठामो (cf. S. 31) ॥ K. reads *tha* instead of *ittha*. वद्धय=वद्धह, वद्धय ॥

**अत ए से । ५॥** *E* of S. 1 and *se* of S. 2 are only substituted when they follow a root ending in *a*, and not otherwise. रमए, पठए ; but होइ (cf. VIII, 1) and not होए । रमसे, पठसे ; but होसि and not होसे ॥

**अस्तेर्लोपः ॥६॥** When the substitutes for *thās* and *sip* (S. 2) follow, the root *as* is elided. सुप्तः असि=तुप्तो सि ॥ In Aśokan records, *asti* is sometimes used for *santi*, sometimes instead of the conjunction *vā* (or), and sometimes as a particle opening a sentence.

**मि-मो-मु-मानाम् अघो हञ्च ॥७॥** *Hi* is to be used immediately after the *m* in the affixes *mi*, *mo*, *mu* and *ma*, when they follow the root *as* which is elided (S. 6). गतः अस्मि=गअो म्हि । गताः स्म=गअ म्हो, गअ म्हु, गअ म्हु ॥

**यक ईअ-इज्जो ॥८॥** *Ia* and *ija* are substituted for *yak* (affix of the *Bhāva-vāchya* and *Karma-vāchya*, i.e. the passive voice), and the personal affixes are added to them. पठ्यते=पढीअइ, पठिअइ ॥ Cf. Hem. दश्यते=दीसइ, उच्यते=वुअइ ॥

**नान्य-द्वित्वे ॥९॥** The above substitutions for *yak* (S. 8) do not take place when the final consonant of the root is doubled. हस्यते=हस्तइ ; गम्यते=गम्मइ ॥ But cf. *infra*, VIII, 58, for the optionality indicated as to the doubling of the final consonant of the roots *gam*, etc. गमीअइ, गमिअइ ॥ Such forms are allowed when the final consonant of the root is not doubled.

न्त-मानौ शतृ-शानन्तोः ॥१०॥ *Nta* and *māna* are mutually substituted, for *śatṛi* and *śānach*, affixes of the present participle. पठत्, पठमान=पठन्तो, पठमाणो ॥ हसत्, हसमान=हसन्तो, हसमाणो ॥

ई च स्त्रियाम् ॥११॥ *I* (also *nta* and *māna* with the affixes of the feminine) is substituted for *śatṛi* and *śānach* when they are used in the feminine. हसन्ती=हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा । वेपमाना=वेवई, वेवन्ती, वेवमाणा ॥ Hem. also gives हसमाणी, etc. which are allowed by *supra*, V, 24.

घातोर्मविष्यति हिः ॥१२॥ *Hi* is to be used after the root in the future tense, and the affixes of the present tense should be added to it. भविष्यति=होहिइ ; भविष्यन्ति=होहिन्ति । हसिष्यति=हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf. S. 33 for the forms हसेहिइ, हसेहिन्ति, etc.

उत्तमे स्सा हा च ॥१३॥ *Ssā* and *hā*, as well as *hā*, are to be used after the root in the 1st pers. of the future tense (*lṛiṭ*), and the conjugational affixes of the present are to be added to them. भविष्यामि=होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि (S. 3) । भविष्यामः=होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो ; होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु ; etc. (S. 4) ॥

मिना स्स वा ॥१४॥ In the 1st pers. sing. of the fut., *ssam* may be optionally used after the root superseding the conjugational affix *mi*. भविष्यामि=होस्स' (Bh.), होहिस्स' (K.); also होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि ॥

मो-मु-मैर्हिस्सा हित्था ॥१५॥ In the 1st pers. plu. of fut., *hussā* and *hubthā* may be used optionally after the root instead of *mo*, *mu* and *ma*. भविष्यामः=होहिस्सा, होहित्था ; also होहिमो, होहिमु, होस्सामो, होस्सामु, होहामो, होहामु ॥

कृ-दा-भ्र-वचि-गमि-रुदि-दशि-विदि-रूपाणां काहं दाहं सोच्छं वोच्छं गच्छं रोच्छं दच्छं वेच्छं ॥१६॥ Var. lect ०रुचि दशि० ॥ [K. omits विदि and its substitute वेच्छं (var. lect. वोच्छं) ॥] In 1st pers. sing. of fut., *kāham* etc. are substituted for *kṛi*, etc. करिष्यामि=काहं ; दास्यामि=दाहं ; श्रोष्यामि=सोच्छं ; वक्ष्यामि=वोच्छं ; गमिष्यामि=गच्छं ; रोदिष्यामि=रोच्छं ; द्रक्ष्यामि=दच्छं ; वेत्स्यामि=वेच्छं ॥ K. मोक्ष्यामि=मोच्छं ; मोक्ष्यामि=मोच्छं ॥

भ्रुवादीनां ङप्रव्यनुस्वारवर्जं हि-लोपश्च वा ॥१७॥ In the fut. of all

persons, *īru*, etc. are changed to *sochchham*, etc.; but the *asuvāra* is elided and *h* (S. 12) is optionally elided. श्रोष्यति=सोच्छिह, सोच्छिहिह ; श्रोष्यन्ति=सोच्छिन्ति, सोच्छिहन्ति ; श्रोष्यसि=सोच्छिसि, सोच्छिहिसि ; श्रोष्यव=सोच्छित्वा, सोच्छिहित्वा (cf. var. lect. of S. 4) ; श्रोष्यामि=सोच्छिमि सोच्छिहिमि ; श्रोष्यामः=सोच्छिमो, etc. (cf. S. 13-15) ॥ Similarly बोच्छिह, बोच्छिहिह, etc. ॥ K.—सोच्छह ; सोच्छहिसि ; सोच्छेसि ; सोच्छिन्ति ; सोच्छिहन्ति ॥

उ सु मु विध्याविषेकयचने ॥१८॥ In the sense of *vidhi* (command), etc., i.e. in the imperative mood (*lot*), etc., *u*, *su* and *mu* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers. sing. for the proper singular affixes. हसतु=हसत । हस=हससु । हसानि=हसमु ॥ होउ ; होसु ; होमु ॥ Hem. alternately suggests *h* for *su*. देहि ; देसु ॥ In the case of roots ending in *a*, alternately also हसेज्जसु, हसेज्जहि and हसेज्जे for हससु ॥

न्तु ह मो ऋषु ॥१९॥ In the sense of command, etc., *ntu*, *ha* and *mo* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers. plu. for the proper affixes of the plural. हसन्तु=हसन्तु । हसथ=हसह । हसाम=हसामो ॥

वर्त्तमान-भविष्यदनद्यतनयोज्ज उजा वा ॥२०॥ In the present (*lat*) and definite future (*lrat*) and in the sense of command etc., *jja* and *jjā* are optionally substituted for the proper affixes. Pres. भवति=होज्ज, होजा ; also होह (cf. VIII, 1) । हसति=हसेज्ज, हसेजा ; also हसह ॥ Fut. भविष्यति=होज्ज, होजा ; also होहिह ॥ Imperative. भवतु=होज्ज, होजा ; also होउ ॥ Note that in Pāli *yya* (= *jja*, *jjā*), the affix of the *vidhulin* (potential or optative mood), has been generalised to denote present and future and also imperative, etc. Cf. Pāli optative forms like भासेय्य, विहिंसेय्य ॥

मध्ये च ॥२१॥ In pres. and definite fut. and in the sense of command, etc., *jja* and *jjā* are optionally inserted between the root and the affixes. Pres. भवति=होज्जह, होजाह ॥ Fut. भविष्यति=होज्जहिह, होजाहिह । Imper. भवतु=होज्जउ, होजाउ ॥ This rule is ignored by K. According to Hem. होज्ज and होजा stand for भवति, भवेत्, भवतु, अभवत्, अभुत्, बभूव, भूयात्, भविता, भविष्यति ॥ *Jja* and *jjā* are prefixed to all conjugational

terminations in the case of the vowel-ending roots (cf. S. 22). Hem. gives होज्जइ, होज्जेइ and होज्जाइ for optative.

**नानेकाच्चाः ॥२२॥** *Jja* and *jjā* are not inserted between the root and the affixes (S. 21), except when the root ends in a vowel and is therefore monosyllabic. Note that the roots ending in a consonant become dissyllabic by the addition of a vowel. हस्=हस—हसइ (K. हसेइ ; cf. S. 34. ) । त्वर=तुवर—तुवरइ ॥ But they may be employed as finals (S. 20). हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा ; तुवरेज्ज, तुवरेज्जा ॥

**ईअ भूते ॥२३॥** *Ia* is substituted for the affix after a root in the past tense (*lan*, etc.). अभवत्=हुवीअ ; अहसत्=हसीअ ॥ Hem. gives सी, ही, हीअ for the vowel-ending and ईय for the consonant-ending roots (cf. *infra*, S. 24). अव्वची, गच्छि, गच्छिस्सु (plu.) are found in literature.

**एकाचो हीअ ॥२४॥** In the past tense (*lan*, *luñ*, *lit*), *hīa* is substituted for the conjugational affix after a monosyllabic root. अकरोत्, अकार्षीत्, चकार=काहीअ ; also कासी, काही (S. 23) । अभूत्, अभवत्, बभूव=होहीअ, also हुवीअ (S. 23) ॥

**अस्तेरासिः ॥२५॥** Var. lect. ०रासी ॥ *Āsi* (Bh.) or *āsī* (K.) is substituted for the root *as*, to exist, in 3rd pers. sing. in the past tense. आसीत्=आसि (Bh.) ; आसी (K.) ॥ Hem. gives आसि and अहेसि for all persons and numbers.

**णिच एदावेरत्ता आस् ॥२६॥** *E* is substituted for the causal affix *nich* and an *a* in the first syllable of the root becomes *ā*. कारयति=कारेइ ; हासयति=हासेइ ॥

**आवे च ॥२७॥** *Āve* (as well as *e*) is also substituted for *nich*. हासयति=हसावेइ ; also हासेइ (S. 26) ॥ Hem. gives *a*, *e*, *āva* and *āve*. दरिसइ । कारेइ । करावइ । करावेइ, कारावेइ ॥

**आविः क्त-कर्म-भावेषु वा ॥२८॥** *Āvi* is optionally substituted for *nich* followed by *ktā* (the affix of the past participle) and when the *Karma*\* and *Bhāva-vāchya* (i. e., the passive voice) are signified. Past Participle—कारित=कराविअ, also कारिअ । हासित=हसाविअ (K. हासाविअ),

हासिञ् ॥ Cf. S. 32. Passive Voice—कार्यते=कराविज्, also कारिज् ॥ हात्यते=हसाविज्, हासिज् ॥

नैदावे ॥२६॥ *E* and *āve* are not substituted for *nich* followed by *ktā* or in the passive voice. कारित्=कारिञ्, कराविञ् ॥ कार्यते=कारिज्, कराविज् ॥

अतः आ मिति वा ॥३०॥ *A* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root ending in *a* before *mip* (pres. 1st pers. sing.). हसामि ; हसमि ; also हसेमि (S. 34) ॥ Hem. also हसं (III, 141).

इव बहुषु ॥३१॥ *I* (as well as *ā*) is substituted for the final *a* in the 1st pers. plu. of the present tense. हसिमो, हसामो; हसिषु, हसामु ॥

क्ते ॥३२॥ *I* is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *ktā* (affix of the past participle). हसित्=हसिञ् ; पठित्=पठिञ् ॥

ए च क्ता-तुमुन्-तव्य-भविष्यत्सु ॥३३॥ *E* (as well as *i*) is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *ktvā* (affix of the gerund), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive), *tavya* (affix of the future participle) and in the future tense. हसित्वा=हसेऊण, हसिऊण । हसितुं=हसेउं, हसिउं । हसितव्य=हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं । हसिष्यति=हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसेहिन्ति, हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf. S. 12-17 for forms of the future tense and *supra*, IV, 23 for *ktvā*.

लादेशे वा ॥३४॥ *E* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root wherever it is followed by any affix of any person of any tense. हसति=हसेइ, हसइ । हसतु=हसेउ, हसउ ॥ K. हसेअन्तो, हसन्तो ; हसेमाणी, हसमाणी ; भुवन्तं (cf. S. 10, 11), भुवेन्तं ॥

### NOTES

**Prakrit Moods and Tenses** The forms of the *bhavadī* class have largely influenced Prakrit conjugation. Only *laṭ* (pres. imperfect tense), *loṭ* (imperative mood together with *vidhukhā*, i.e., optative or potential mood) and *lṛiṭ* (second future tense) are most apparent in Prakrit. The present is used for all tenses and the optative for all tenses and moods. Other tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar such as *lan* (past imperfect or first preterite), *lṛiṇ* (conditional mood), *luṭ* (first or periphrastic future), *āṣirliṇ* (benedictive), *liṭ* (past perfect or second preterite) and *luṇ* (aorist or third preterite) are obscure. Forms

in *kta* with the auxiliary verb are largely employed. But some of the conjugational classes of roots and of the tenses and moods are represented in Pāli and in early inscriptions. Pāli, e.g., has seven or eight classes of roots instead of the ten *gaṇas* of Sanskrit grammarians. They correspond to the Sanskrit *bhṡādi* [including *adādi*, *juhotyādi* and *budādi*], *rudhādi*, *divādi*, *svādi*, *kryādi*, *tanādi* and *churādi gaṇa*. The Pāli class called *gahādi* is included in the Sans. *kryādi gaṇa*. The *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* forms of conjugation, not observed in Prakrit, are clear in Pāli. Again, Pāli has retained no less than eight tenses and moods instead of the ten *lakāras* of Sanskrit. They are called *vibhaktis*, e.g., *vartamānā* (present), *pañohami* (imperative), *saptamī* (optative), *parokṣhā* (past perfect), *hyastanā* (past imperfect), *adyatanī* (aorist), *bhaviṣhyati* (future) and *kālātiprāpti* (conditional). The use of *let* (Vedic subjective) is found in Aśokan Prakrit.

**Vararuchi's Conjugation.** (1) हस् ॥ लट् (present tense)—3rd pers. हसइ, हसए, हसेइ, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसन्ति, हसेन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. हससि, हसेसि, हससे । हसेइ, हसेत्था, हसेय, हसह, हसित्था, हसय ॥ 1st pers. हसामि, हसमि, हसेमि । हसेसु, हसेमो, हसेम, हसामु, हसामो, हसाम, हसिमो, हसिसु, हसिम ॥ लोट् etc. (imperative mood, etc.)—3rd pers. हसउ, हसेउ, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा (Saur. हसडु) । हसन्तु, हसेन्तु ॥ 2nd pers. हससु, हसेसु (cf. Hem, *infra*, p. 78) । हसह, हसेह ॥ 1st pers. हससु, हसेसु । हसामो, हसमो, हसेमो ॥ लृट् (future tense)—3rd pers. हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसिहन्ति, हसेहन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. हसिहसि, हसिहिसे । हसिहित्था, हसिहिह, हसिहिय ॥ 1st pers. हसिस्स', हसेस्स' हसिस्सामि, हसिहामि, हसिहिमि, हसेहिमि, हसेहामि, हसेस्सामि । हसिहिस्सा, हसिहित्था, हसेहित्था, हसेहिस्सा, हसिहिमो, हसिस्सामो, हसिहामो, हसेहिमो, हसेस्सामो, हसेहामो ॥ लङ् (past tense)—3rd pers. हसीअ ॥ etc. णिच् (causative)—3rd pers. sing. pres. हासेइ, हसावेइ, हासावेइ ॥ etc. क्त (past participle)—हसिअ' ॥ णिच्+क्त—हासिअ', हसाविअ' ॥ क्ता (absolutive)—हसेअण, हसिअण ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—हसेउ', हसिउ' ॥ तव्य (future participle)—हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं ॥ भावकर्मवाच्य (passive voice)—3rd pers. sing. हस्सइ, हसीअइ, हसिज्जइ ॥ शतृ-शानच्.—Masc. हसन्तो, हसेन्तो, हसमाणो,

हसेमाणो ॥ Fem. हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा, हसमाणी ॥ (2) भू ॥ लट्—3rd pers. होइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जइ, होज्जाइ । होन्ति etc. ॥ 2nd pers. होसि । होइ. होथ ॥ 3rd pers. होमि । होमु, होम, होमो ॥ लोट्—3rd pers. होव, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जव, होज्जाव । होन्तु ॥ etc. लट्—3rd pers. होहिइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जहिइ, होज्जाहिइ । होहन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. होहिसि, होहिसे । होहिइ, होहित्था, होहित्थ ॥ 1st pers. होस्सं, होहामि, होस्सामि, होहिमि । होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो, होहिस्सा. होहित्था, होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु. होस्साम, होहाम, होहिम ॥ etc. लङ्—3rd pers. होहीअ, हुवीय ॥ (3) वृश् ॥ लट्—3rd pers. दच्छइ, दच्छइ, दच्छिहिइ । दच्छन्ति, दच्छिहन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. दच्छसि, दच्छिहिसि । दच्छित्था, दच्छिहित्था, दच्छइ, दच्छथ ॥ 1st pers. दच्छं, दच्छमि, दच्छिमि, दच्छिस्सं । दच्छिमो, दच्छिहिमो, दच्छिमु, दच्छिहिमु, दच्छिम, दच्छिमि, दच्छिस्सामो, दच्छिहामो, दच्छिस्सामु, दच्छिहामु, दच्छिस्साम, दच्छिहाम ॥ etc. (4) अस् ॥ लट्—3rd pers. अत्थि । सन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. सि । त्थ, इ, त्था ॥ 1st pers. म्हि । म्हो, म्हु, म्ह ॥ लङ्—3rd pers. असि, आसो ॥ etc.

**Conjugation in Pāli** भू ॥ लट् (present) active (*parasm.*). ३—भवति । भवन्ति ॥ २—भवसि । भवथ ॥ १—भवामि । भवाम ॥ But usually *bhū* is changed to *hū* and we have : ३—होति । होन्ति ॥ २—होसि । होथ ॥ १—होमि । होम ॥ Pres. reflective or middle (*ātman*) ३—भवते । भवन्ते ॥ २—भवसे । भवन्हे ॥ १—भवे । भवाम्हे ॥ लोट् (imperative) active. ३—भवतु । भवन्तु ॥ २—भव, भवाहि । भवथ ॥ १—भवामि । भवाम ॥ Reflective. ३—भवतं । भवन्तं ॥ २—भवस्सु । भवन्हो ॥ १—भवे । भवाममे ॥ विधिलिङ् (optative) active. ३—भवेय्य, भवे । भवेय्युं ॥ २—भवेय्यासि, भवे । भवेय्याथ ॥ १—भवेय्यामि, भवे । भवेय्याम ॥ Reflective ३—भवेथ । भवेरं ॥ २—भवेथो । भवेय्यन्हो ॥ १—भवेय्यं । भवेय्याम्हे ॥ लिट् (past perfect) active. ३—बभूव । बभूवु ॥ २—बभूवे । बभूवित्थ ॥ १—बभूव । बभूविम्ह ॥ Reflective ३—बभूवित्थ । बभूविरं ॥ २—बभूवित्थो । बभूविन्हो ॥ १—बभूवि । बभूविम्हे ॥ लङ् (past imperfect) active. ३—अभवा । अभवू ॥ २—अभवो । अभवत्थ ॥ १—अभवं । अभवम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवत्थ । अभवत्थुं ॥ २—अभवसे । अभवन्हं ॥ १—अभविं । अभवाम्हसे (cf. अहुवम्हसे) ॥ लुङ् (aorist) active. ३—अभवि, अभवी (of. the alternate

forms अहोसि, अह्) । अभवु, अभविषु ॥ २—अभवो । अभवित्थ ॥ १—अभवि ॥ अभविम्हा ॥ Cf. the alternate forms ३—अहोसि । अहोसु ॥ ३—अहोसि । अहोसित्थ ॥ १—अहोसि' । अहोसिम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवा । अभवू ॥ २—अभवसे । अभव्विह' ॥ १—अभव' । अभविम्हे ॥ लट् (future) active. ३—भविस्सति (cf. the alternate forms होहिति, हेहिति, हेस्सति) । भविस्सन्ति ॥ २—भविस्ससि (cf. भोहिति) । भविस्सथ ॥ १—भविस्सामि । भविस्साम ॥ Reflective. ३—भविस्सते । भविस्सन्ते ॥ २—भविस्ससे । भविस्सव्हे ॥ भविस्स' । भविस्साम्हे ॥ लृट् (conditional) active. ३—अभविस्सा, अभविस्स । अभविस्स'सु ॥ २—अभविस्से । अभविस्सह ॥ १—अभविस्स' । अभविस्सम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभविस्सथ । अभविसि'सु ॥ २—अभविस्से । अभविस्सव्हे ॥ १—अभविस्स' । अभविस्साम्हसे ॥ शिच् (causative)—पच् । पाचेति, पाचयति, पाचापेति, पचापेति, पाचापयति ॥ स्था । ठपेति, ठपयति, ठापेति ॥ गम् । गमेति, गमयति, गच्छापेति, गच्छापयति ॥ सन् (desiderative)—पा । पिपासति, पिपासति ॥ दा । दिच्छति, दिच्छरे ॥ भुज् । बुभुक्खति ॥ यङ् (intensive)—कम् । चङ्कमति ॥ गम् ॥ जङ्गमति ॥ दङ्, दल् । दहलति ॥ नामधातु (denominative)—पव्वतायति ; पुस्तोयति ॥ गळ्गळायति, चित्चिटायति ॥ Participles. शतृ-शानच्—कृ । करं, करन्तो, करमान, करमाण, कुब्बान ॥ भू । भवं, भवन्तो ॥ दा । ददमान ॥ क्क—पच् । पक्क ॥ कृ । कत ॥ दुह् । दुद्ध ॥ वच् । वुत्त ॥ दा । दिन्नो ॥ चर् । चिन्नो ॥ लो । लीनो ॥ इच्छितो, वपितो, याचितो ॥ भुत्तवा । भुत्तवन्तो ॥ तव्य—दा । दातव्व ॥ नी । नेतव्व ॥ भू । भवितव्व ॥ अनोय—गमनीय, करनीय ॥ य—नेय्य ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—खादितु', वदितु', गन्तु', सोतु' ॥ Infinitives in *tave, tuye, tāye* which are remnants of old Vedic forms are found in Pāli and old inscriptions. गन्तवे, नेतवे, पहातवे, कातुये, मरितुये, दक्खिताये ॥ क्का (gerund)—नी । नेत्वा ॥ कृ । क्त्वा, क्तवान्, क्तून ॥ चिन्त । चिन्तिय ॥ भुज् । भुजिय ॥ श्रु । श्रुत्वा ॥

#### Conjugation from Hemachandra. Affixes of the Present Tense.

३—इ, ए । न्ति, न्ते, इरे ॥ २—सि, से । इत्था, ह ॥ १—मि । मो, मु, म ॥ [अस् । ३—अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ २—सि, अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ १—म्हि, अत्थि । म्हो, म्ह, अत्थि ॥] Affixes of the Future Tense. ३—हिह, हिए । हित्ति, हित्ते, हिहरे ॥ २—हिसि, हिसे । हित्था, हिह ॥



१—स्स', स्सामि, हामि, हिमि । स्सामो, हामो, हिमो, स्साम, हाम, हिम, स्सामु, हामु, हिमु, हिस्सा, हिस्सा ॥ Affixes of the Imperative Mood.

३—उ । न्तु ॥ २—०, सु, इज्जसु, इज्जहि, इज्जे, हि । ह ॥ १—मु । मो ॥

**Conjugation in Epigraphic Prakrit.** (1) Indicative (लट्) । 1. sing. आनपयामि, अणपेमि, करोमि, पलकमामि, दस्सामि, अनुसासामि, इच्छामि, कलामि, पटिवेस्सामि, विदहामि अभत्थेमि, विक्रिणमि. लिहाम । 1. plu. संभवेयम, वितराम, ददाम, ०दम ॥ 2. sing. विंभवेसि । 2. plu. पापुनाथ ॥ 3. sing. करोति, छयति, याति, देखति, आनपयति, गरहति, पसति, भवति, भोति, होति, अस्ति, अयि, अठि, इच्छति, उपह्णति, पूजयति, पूजेति, निवतेति, वडियति, अनुनेति, मज्जति, मेज्जति, एति, अनुकंपति, द्रस्सति. पटिपज्जति, पापुनाति, वेदयति, दुखीयति, इच्छ(च्छ?)ति, अस्ति, नस्ति, ददाति, विसज्जति, वितासिति, यति. भिंदति, नयति, लिहति, देति, अणुमण्णति, विंभवेति, होअति, प्रेभेति, परिप्रोछति, हुअति, हरति (=धरति) । 3. plu. इच्छति, प्रापुणति पापुनात, अनुवटंति, वसति, यंति, इच्छंति, कलंति, व्रचंति, भोति, हुवंति, कलेति, लघंति, देखंति, संपटिपादयंति, करंति, प्रेभंति, १थयंति (=तिष्ठन्ति), पलयंति, सरजितंति ॥ Middle (आत्मनेपद) . 3. sing. कमते, मंजते, मज्जते, करोते । 3 plu. करोते, आरभरे, अनुवतरे ॥ Passive. 3. sing. पसवति, वुचति, खादियति, नीलखियति, गनीयति, कथियति, मिणयति, कसते, वसते, वुच्यति, हुअंति, भुयति, दिनदि (=दीयते) । 3. plu. आरभरे, अनुविधियरे, अनुविधियंति, अनुविधी०, अलभिसंति, हंजंति, आलंभियंति ॥ (2) Subjunctive (लेट्) । 1. sing. सुखापयामि, सुखायामि, सुखयमि, दिपयमि, आवहामो, अनुसासामि, सावापयामि । 2. plu. निखिपाथ, पलियोवदाथ, विवासयाथ, विवासापयाथा । 3. sing. मंभा, सुसुसातु, हुवाति । 3. plu. पलकमातु, निखमावू ॥ (3) Optative (विधिलिङ्) । 1. sing. गच्छेयं, येहं (✓ या), पटिपादयेहं (पटिपात०), आलमेहं, व्रचेयं, अभ्युंणामयेहं, । 1. plu. दीपयेम (दिप०), गच्छेम, पटिपादयेमा (पटिपात०), करेय्याम, करेज्जाम, करेज्जाम । 3. sing. अस (=स्यात्), सिय, सिया, सियाति, सियति, भवे, तिसुटेय, निवटेया, पटिपजेया, अपकरेयति, उगच्छ(छे?), दस्सेया, दस्सेय, उथाया, हुवेया, पापोया, पापोव, वडेया, वडेज, होज, सियति, स्यति, ०दि, करेज्ज, करेय्य, कारवेज्जा । 3. plu. पकमेयु, जानेयु, सियसु, असु (=स्युः), वसेयु, हुवेयु, वंयु, हुवेयु, हुवेयु, सुनेयु, सुमुसेयु, वसेयु, अवलपेयु, चलेयु, चलेयु लहेयु, लहेयु, वसेयु, अखसेयु, पापुनेयु

(०नेयु, ०नेव्), युजेवु (०जेयू, ०जेव्), आलाभयेयू (०व्), यावु, उपदहेवु, अनुगहिनेवु, पवतयेवु, करेव्वा, करापेव्वा, सियंति । Middle (आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. पटि-पजेय । 3. plu. सुसुंसेर, सुसुंसेयु ॥ Passive. 3. plu. युजेवु, ०व्, यूजेव्, ०यू ॥ (4) Imperative (लोट्) । 2. sing. परिहरहि, ०हरेहि, ओयपपेहि, निबधापेहि । 2. plu. पटिवेदेश, रक्खध, रक्खापेधय, परिहरध, ०रापेधय, आनपयाय, निवेदयाय, परिहरेय, ०रय, ०हरापेय, निबधापेय । 3. sing. होतु, भोटु, अनुवततु, ०वतति, पटिपजंतु हुतु, विधिष्यतु (=वितिष्ठतु) । 3. plu. युजंतु, आराधयंतु, नियातु, छुनाव, निखमंतु, मनतु, रोचेतु, वेदेतु, परकमंतु, निरुमतु, ममतु, अरधेतु, वेदयंतु । Middle (आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. अनुविधियतां (passive), सुसुसता (desiderative) । 3. plu. अनुवतरं ॥ Passive. 3. sing. अनुविधियतां, ०यतु । 3. plu. अनुविधियंतु, हंभेयसु (cf. लुङ्) ॥ Desiderative. 3. sing. सुसुसातु, ०सतु, ०सता ॥ (5) Imperfect (लङ्) । 1. sing. गतोस्मिं, ततोस्मिं गतो, गदेमि, अरोगेमि, विसजिदेमि, प्रहिदेमि, पिचविदेमि । 1. plu. किडम, शकिडम । 2. sing. प्रहितेसि 3. sing. अहो (=अभवत्), असि (=आसीत्) ॥ (6) Aorist (लुङ्) । 1. sing. हुसं, हुस । 3. sing. निखमिथा, निरुमि, निखमि । (Middle. हुया, वडिथा) । 3. plu. हुसु, इच्छिसु, अहुंसु, अयासु, आरभिसु, निखमिसु, निरुमिषु, अभुवसु, ममिषु, लोचेषु, अलोचयिसु ॥ Passive 3. plu. आरभिसु, अरभियिसु, अलंभियिसु ॥ (7) Perfect (लिट्) । 3. sing. आह, आहा, अहा, अयाय (√ या; or लङ् or लिट् of √ ह) ॥ (8) Future (लृट्) । 1. sing. पलिभसयिसं, लिखापयिसं, कळामि (=कञ्जामि =करिष्यामि), लिखापेसामि, कषं, कषमि, होसामि (०मी), लिखापयिसामि, लिखियिसामि, शक्षयमि । 1. sing. प्रेषिशम । 2. sing. व्योषिशसि । 2. plu. एसथ, एसह, चथथ, आलाभयिमथ (०था) । 3. sing. वडिसिति, वडसिता, वडयिसति, वडियिसति, वडिसति, आभपयिसति (आन०), हापेसति, कासति, कळति, कषति, होसति, खमिसति, अतिक्रमयिसति, अभ्युंनमिसति, अनुपटिपजिसति, संपटि०, चथति, भाखति, निबहिसति, ०द्विपयिसति, ओडिष्यति; करिराति । 3. plu. वडयिसंति, अनुसासिसंति, कासंति, कसंति, कळंति, व्रक्षंति (√ व्रज्), अनपेरंति, निखमिसंति, युजिसंति, जानिसंति, वडिसंति, पटिचलिसंति, होसंति, होडंति, वियोवदिसंति, पक्षियो०, पविथलिसंति, दाहंति, चथंति, निरुपयिसंति, भविसंति, ०सती ॥ Middle

(आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. परिदुजिशातु ॥ 3. plu. अनुवतिसरे । Passive.  
 3. plu. आरमिसरे आलमिषिंसति (आलं°). अरमिशंति, अनुविषिषिशंति ॥  
 Many of the instances of tenses and moods are quoted from the records of Aśoka. Later inscriptions do not show variety of moods and tenses.  
 Causative (including *churādi* roots). In *aya*, e. पूजयति, पूजेतया, लोचेतव्या, पटिवेदेय, दशयित्वा, दीपयेम, आराधयंतु । (2) In *āya*. सुखायामि । (3) In *payā*. हृपेसति, दापक, आमपयामि, निवहपयिसति, रक्खापेधय, परिहरापेधय, निबधापेहि (4) In *āpa*, *āpayā* लिखापयिसं, खानापितं, लेखापित, हारापित, स्नावापक, सुखापयामि । (5) In *pāpayā*. रोपापित, उसपापित । (6) In *īya*. दुखीयति । (7) In *āpāpayā*. खानापापितानि. लिखापापिता । Cf. चोतेयति, वेतेयति, चुदियदि, निदियदि, उथवियदि, अनुवद्यवेति, परिहारेहि, परिहारित, पीडापयति, वंदापयति, भोजापयिता, घातापयिता, खानित, आहरापयति, वियलिदव. पाययति, कासयति. कारयति, कारापयति ॥  
 Denominative. तीलित, तीलीत, सुखयित, सुखायना, सुखीयना, दुखीयना, महीयित, कर्मवेति, वशीकरोति ॥ शतृ—पुययंतो, वसांतानं, वसवुथान, वसतानं, वेजयंतिये, सति, पसासतो, जनेतो, पसंतो, जनंद, जयंतस, संदसयंतो ॥ शानच्—  
 भुंजमान, विजिनमन, असमान, करमिन, अशमन, पकममिन, पलकममीन, पटिपादयमीन. अनुवेक्षमान, पायमीना, वधमान, अनुविधीयमाना, सुजमान, वर्त्तमान, वटमानक, ससु-  
 थापियमान ॥ कृ—कृत, कट, किट, किट्, व्यापत, वियापट, वियपुट, विस्तत, विथट, जुत, समात, संखित, निपेसित. निपेसपित, अपवुड, हारापित. आनपयित. किलंत, वियत (अव्यक्), अपकठ, अखथ, व्युठ. विवुध. व्यूथ. उपयित ; पसनं, विप्रहिन, उविगिन. पटिपनं, दिनं, दिन, पत्यासनं, पतियासनं, उपनं, पटिपुनं, किलिन, कलेण्ण, दिन्ना, अभिपन्न, विचिण्ण. अभिविगाढ, संपुनं, बोद्धिनं ; खदे. निबधो. फुट, दित, हुता, निखित, हित, सकत, गद, करित. अम्भतु, हुद. यिठ, भुत, अलित. नियन्तत, दिठ ॥

यत्—दुपटिवेख, दुसंपटिपादय, आवासयिय. कच, शक, चक्य, सकिय, चकिय, देखिय. लहिय, धारिय, देय, कय्यं, सर्वकिच ॥ अनीय—वेदनीय, अस्त्रासनिय, करंणि, गरणिय, गहणि ॥ तुमुन्—आराधेतु, छमितवे, विखंसयितवे, खमितवे, आलाधयितवे, पटिपादयितवे, समदपयितवे, मेतवे. पलिहटवे, वातवे, पापोतवे, निखेतु. कारयितुं, मोचयितुं, विपमुचितुं ॥ तव्य—कृतव्य, प्रज्जहितव्य, पूजेतय, कटविय, कटव, प्रयुहोतव, इक्षितविय, इक्षितय, विकेतविय, आपेतविय (✓लै), निलक्षितविय, दक्षितविय, दक्षितविय, दयितविय,

गहितवय, ददव, कर्तव, विसज्जिदव, ०देव, ओडिदव, तिमिदव, भविदव, किनिदव, ग्रहदव, भ्रुनिदव्य, ०दव, धरिदव, कसितव्य, परिहरितव्य, परिहापेतव्य ॥

अष्टमः परिच्छेदः ।—धात्वादेशः ॥

### Chapter VIII.—Prakrit Substitutes for Sanskrit Roots.

Note that some of the substitutes may be regularly derived from Sanskrit sources by applying rules of phonetics. Some of the Prakrit roots are *Deśī*.

— भुवो हो-हुवौ ॥१॥ *Ho* and *huva* are substituted for the root *bhū*, to exist. भवति=होइ, हुवइ ॥ भवन्ति=होन्ति, हुवन्ति ॥

के हुः ॥२॥ Var. lect. के भुः (K.) or ०हु ॥ When followed by *hta* (affix of the past participle), *hu* or *hū* (Bh.) or *bhū* (K.) is used for the root *bhū*. भूत=हुअ' or हुअ' (Bh., Hem.). भूअ' (K.) ॥

प्रादेर्मवः ॥३॥ When preceded by *pra*, etc., *bhava* is substituted for the root *bhū*. पमवइ ; स'मवइ ; उब्मवइ ; परिमवइ ॥

त्वरस्तुवरः ॥४॥ *Tuvara* is substituted for *√tvar*, to hasten. तुवरइ ॥

के तुरः ॥५॥ When followed by *hta* (affix of the past participle), *tura* is substituted for the root *tvar*. तुरिअ' ॥ Cf. Ins. त्वरणा=तुलना ॥

घुणो घोळः ॥६॥ Var. lect. घूर्णोर्घोलः (K.) ॥ *Ghola* is substituted for the root *ghuṇ* (Bh.) or *ghūrṇ* (K.), to roll. घोळइ, घोळन्ति ॥ Hem. घुलइ, घोलइ, घुम्मइ, पइलइ ॥

नुदो णोळः ॥७॥ *Nolla* is substituted for the root *nud*, to send. णोळइ ; णोळन्ति । पणोळइ ॥ Some Mss. read *loṇa* for *nolla*; cf. *supra*, IV, 29.

दूळो दूमः ॥८॥ *Dūma* is substituted for the root *dū*, to be pained. दूयते=दूमइ ॥ Hem. also धवलयति=दूमइ, धवलइ ॥

पटेः फळः ॥९॥ Var. lect. पाटेः फालः (K.) ॥ *Phala* is substituted

for the root *paṭ*, to go, move. K. prefers *phāla* for the root *pāṭi* (the causative form of *paṭ*), to split, to tear asunder. पटित=कलिञ्च ॥ K.—पाटयति=कालेइ, पाटित=कालिञ्च ॥

पडे पालः ॥१०॥ *Pāla* is substituted for the root *pad*, go move. पथते=पालेइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K.

वृष-कृष-मृष-हृषामृतोऽरिः ॥११॥ *Ari* is substituted for the *ri* in the roots *vrish*, etc. वर्षति=वरिसइ ; कर्षति=करिसइ ; मर्षति=मरिसइ ; हर्षति=हरिसइ ॥ Hem. कृष—कइइ, साअइइ, अअइइ, अणच्छइइ, अवच्छइइ, आइच्छइइ, करिसइ ॥

अतोऽरः ॥१२॥ Var. lect. अन्यस्यारः (K.) ॥ *Ara* is substituted for *ri* in the roots that end in *ri*. मृ—मरइ ; छ—सरइ ; इ—वरइ ।

कृञः कुणो वा ॥१३॥ *Kuṇa* is optionally substituted for the root *kṛi*, to do. करोति=कुणइ, also करइ ॥

जृभो जम्भाभः ॥१४॥ *Jambhāa* is substituted for the root *jṛbh* (or *jṛmbh*), to yawn. जृम्भते=जम्भाअइ । जृम्भन्ते=जम्भाअन्ति ॥ Hem. जम्भाइ, जम्भाअइ ॥ He has √जम्भा ; cf व्यञ्जनाददन्ते, खरादनतो वा (IV, 239-40). Cf. S. 71.

ग्रहेर्गेण्डः ॥१५॥ *Genha* is substituted for *grah*, to seize. ग्रीहाति=गेण्डइ ; ग्रीहन्ति=गेण्डन्ति ॥ Hem. also gives ग्रीहहाति=वेप्पइ ॥

घेत क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्येषु ॥१६॥ When followed by *ktvā* (affix of the indeclinable absolutive participle), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle), *ghet* is substituted for *grah*. गृहीत्वा=वेत्तूण । ग्रहितुम्=वेत्तुं । ग्रहीतव्य=वेत्तव्वं ॥

कृञः का भूत-भविष्यतोश्च ॥१७॥ In the past and future tenses and also before *ktvā*, *tumun* and *tavya*, *kā* is substituted for √*kṛi*. अकरोत्=काहीअ (VII, 24) । करिष्यति=काहिइ । कृत्वा=काऊण । कर्तुम्=काउं । कर्तव्य=काअव्वं ॥

स्मरतेर्भर-सुमरो ॥१८॥ *Bhara* and *sumara* are substituted for the root *smṛi*, to remember. स्मरति=भरइ, सुमरइ ॥ According to some later authors, the substitution does not take place when the root is preceded by an *upasarga* (preposition). विस्सरइ ॥ According to Hem.

स्मरति=मरइ, मूरइ, भरइ, भलाइ, लडाइ, विम्वरइ, सुमरइ, पयंरइ, पम्भुइइ, सरइ ॥  
विस्मरति=पम्भुसइ, विम्वरइ, वीसरइ ॥

भियो भा-वीहौ ॥१६॥ Var. lect. ०वीमौ ॥ *Bhā* and *vīha* are substituted for the root *bhī*, to fear. विमेति=भाइ, वीहइ ॥ K.—भाइ, विभाइ, विमेइ, वीहइ । वीहन्ति ॥

जिघ्रते: पा-पाभौ ॥२०॥ *Pā* and *pāa* are substituted for the root *ghrā*, to smell. जिघ्रति=पाइ, पाभइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Hem. आजिघ्रति=आइगइ, अगवाइ ॥

म्लै वा-वाभौ ॥२१॥ *Vā* and *vāa* are substituted for the root *mla*, to wither. म्लायति=वाइ, वाभइ ॥ Hem. वाइ, पव्वायइ, मिलाइ, मिलाभइ ॥

तृपस्थिम्प: ॥२२॥ *Thimpa* is substituted for the root *trip*, to be pleased. तृप्यति=थिम्पइ ॥ Hem. has थिप्पइ ॥

ज्ञो जाण-मुणौ ॥२३॥ *Jāṇa* and *muṇa* are substituted for the root *jñā*, to know. जाणाति=जाणइ, मुणइ ॥ Some later authors give the substitutes *najja* and *nappa*. गाजइ, णप्पइ ॥

जल्पेलीं म: ॥२४॥ *M* is substituted for the *l* of the root *jalp*, to speak articulately. जल्पति=जम्पइ ॥

छा-ध्या-गानां ठाअ-क्काअ-गाआ: ॥२५॥ *Thāa*, *ghāa* and *gāa* are respectively substituted for the roots *sthā* (*sthā*), to stand, *dhyar*, to meditate, and *gar*, to sing तिष्ठन्ति=ठाअन्ति । ध्यायन्ति=क्काअन्ति । गायन्ति=गाअन्ति ॥

ठा-क्का-गाअ वत्तमान-भविष्यद्विध्याद्येकवचनेषु ॥२६॥ *Thā*, *ghā* and *gā*, as well as *thāa*, *ghāa* and *gāa*, are severally substituted for the roots *sthā* (*sthā*), *dhyar* and *gar* before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the future and present tenses. Pres. तिष्ठति=ठाइ, ठाअइ । Fut. स्थास्यति=ठाहिइ, ठाअहिइ । Imp. तिष्ठतु=ठाउ, ठाअउ ॥ क्काइ, क्काअइ । क्काहिइ, क्काअहिइ । क्काउ, क्काअउ ॥ गाइ, गाअइ । गाहिइ, गाअहिइ । गाउ, गाअउ ॥

खादि-ध्यायो: खा-घौ ॥२७॥ *Khā* and *dhā* are respectively substituted for the roots *khād*, to eat, and *dhāv*, to run, before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the present and future tenses

according to Bh., but unrestrictedly according to K. Bh.—खादति=खाइ । खादिष्यति=खाहिइ । खादतु=खाउ ॥ धाइ । धाहिइ । धाउ ॥ K.—खादन्ति । खाइ । खासु । खासु । खाउ । खाअन् । खासु । धाउ ॥ etc.

**प्रसेर्विसः ॥२८॥** *Visa* is substituted for the root *gras*, to eat. प्रसते=विसइ ॥ Hem. विसइ, गसइ ॥

**चित्रश्चिणः ॥२९॥** *Chṛṇa* is substituted for the root *chr*, to gather. चिनोति=चिणइ ॥ K.—चिणोइ, चिणुए ॥ चिणन्ति । चिणामि ॥

**क्रीयः किणः ॥३०॥** *Kṛṇa* is substituted for the root *kṛi*, to purchase. क्रीणाति=किणइ ॥ K. किणए । किणसे ॥ etc.

**वेः क्के च ॥३१॥** Var. lect. ०के० ॥ *Kke*, as well as *kṛṇa*, is substituted for the root *kṛi*, when it follows the preposition *vi*, i.e., for the root *vikṛi*, to sell. विक्रीणाति=विकेइ (Hem. also विकेअइ), विक्रिणइ ॥ Cf. III. 50 for the doubling of *k*. This Sūtra is ignored by K.

**उद्धम् उद्धुमा ॥३२॥** *Uddhumā* is substituted for the root *dhmā*, to blow fire, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i. e., for the root *uddhmā*. उद्धमति=उद्धुमाइ ॥

**अदो घो दहः ॥३३॥** *Daha* is substituted for the root *dhā* preceded by the particle *śrad*, i.e., for the root *śrad dhā*, to respect, to believe. अदधाति=सहइ । सहइअ ॥

**अवाद् गाहेर्वाहः ॥३४॥** *Vāha* is substituted for the root *gāh*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for *avagāh*, to bathe. अवगाहते=ओवाहइ, अववाहइ ॥ Cf. IV. 21.

**कासेर्वासः ॥३५॥** *Vāsa* is substituted for the root *kās*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for the root *avakās*, to cough. अवकासते=ओवासइ, अववासइ ॥

**निरो माङो माणः ॥३६॥** *Māṇa* is substituted for the root *mā*, preceded by the preposition *nir*, i.e., for the root *nirmā*, to make. निर्मायते=णिम्माअइ ॥ Hem. णिम्माणइ, णिम्मवइ ॥

**क्षियो क्षिज्जः ॥३७॥** *Jhujja* is substituted for the root *ksh*, to destroy. क्षिणोति=क्षिजइ ॥ Hem. क्षिजइ, क्षिज्जरइ ॥

**मिदिच्छिदोरन्त्यस्य न्दः ॥३८॥** *Nda* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *bhid*, to break, and *chid*, to cut. *मिनसि=मिन्दइ* । *छिनसि=छिन्दइ* ॥ Hem. *छिन्दइ*, *दुहावइ*, *शिच्छञ्जइ*, *निज्जोडइ*, *शिञ्जवरइ*, *शिञ्जलूरइ*, *लूरइ* ॥

**क्वथेर्दः ॥३९॥** *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *kvath*, to boil. *क्वपति=क्वडइ* ॥ Hem. *क्वडइ*, *\*अडइ* ॥

**वेष्टेऽध ॥४०॥** *Dha* is also substituted for the final letter of the root *vesht*, to surround. *वेष्टते=वेडइ* ॥ Cowell suggests *वेडइ*, *वेडइ* (III, 10); but cf. Hem. IV, 221. K.—*वेडणं* ; *परिवेडितं* ॥ Hem. *वेडइ*, *परिआलेइ* ॥ The *yogavibhāga*, i.e., separation of *vesht* from the previous rule, is for the continuation of the *adhikāra* of this Sūtra to the following Sūtra.

**उत्-समोर्लः ॥४१॥** *La* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vesht*, preceded by the prepositions *ut* and *sam*. *उव्वेज्जइ* ; *सवेज्जइ* ॥

**रुदेर्वः ॥४२॥** *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *rud*, to weep. *रोदिति=रुवइ* ॥ K. *रुवेइ*, *रुवितं* ॥ K. also allows doubling of the *v*. *रुव्वसि* ॥

**उदो विजः ॥४३॥** Var. lect. *विजेः* । *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *viḥ*, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i.e., for the root *udviḥ*, to fear. *उद्विजते=उव्विवइ* (K. *उव्वेवइ* ) ॥

**वृधेर्दः ॥४४॥** *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vr̥dh*, to increase. *वर्द्धते=वडइ* ॥

**हन्तेर्मः ॥४५॥** *Mma* is substituted for the final letter of the root *han*, to strike. *हन्ति=हम्मइ* ॥

**रुषादीनां दीर्घता ॥४६॥** In the roots, *rush*, etc., the vowel is lengthened. *रुष्यति=रूसइ* । *तुष्यति=तूसइ* । *शुष्यति=सूसइ* ॥

**चो व्रज-नृत्योः ॥४७॥** *Chcha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *vraj*, to go, and *nṛit*, to dance. *व्रजति=वचइ* । *नृत्यति=णचइ* ॥ Hem. also *मद—मचइ* ॥



**युधि-बुद्धयोर्धः ॥४८॥** *Jha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *yudh*, to fight, and *budh*, to know. युध्यते=युज्झइ । बुध्यते=बुज्झइ ॥

**रधेर्ध-म्भौ ॥४९॥** *Ndha* and *mbha* are substituted for the final letter of the root *rudh*, to check. रणद्धि=रन्धइ ; रम्भइ ॥

**मृदो लः ॥५०॥** *La* is substituted for the final letter of *√mrid*, to grind. मृदाति=मलइ ॥ Hem. मलइ, मढइ, परिहृदइ, खडइ, चडइ, मडइ, पञाडइ ॥

**शङ्ल-पत्योर्धः ॥५१॥** Var. lect. शदि० (K.) ॥ *Da* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *śad*, to decay, and *pat*, to fall. शीयते=सडइ । पतति=पडइ ॥

**शकादीनां द्वित्वम् ॥५२॥** The final letter of the roots *śak*, to be able, etc., is doubled. शक्नोति=सक्कइ ; लगति=लग्गइ ॥ Cf. S. 70. ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

**स्फुटि-चल्योर्वा ॥५३॥** The final letter of the roots *sphuṭ*, to blossom, and *chal*, to tremble, is doubled optionally. स्फुटति=फुडइ, फुडइ (*supra* II, 20) । चलति=चल्लइ, चलइ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

**प्रादेर्मीलः ॥५४॥** When preceded by the prepositions, *pra*, etc., the final letter of the root *mīl*, to wink, is doubled optionally. प्रमीलति=पमिल्लइ, पमीलइ । संमिल्लइ ॥ उम्मिल्लइ ॥

**भुजादीनां क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्येषु लोपः ॥५५॥** Var. lect. ०परतो लोपः (K.) ॥ The final letter of the roots, *bhuṣ*, etc., is elided before the affixes *ktvā* (affix of the absolutive) *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle). भुक्त्वा=भोत्तूण ; भोक्त्वा=भोत्तुं ; भोक्त्व्य=भोत्तव्वं । विद्—वेत्तूण ; वेत्तुं ; वेत्तव्वं । रुद्—रोत्तूण ; रोत्तुं ; रोत्तव्वं ॥ Cf. *supra* IV, 23. The doubling of *t* in the alternative *tūṇa* is supposed to be explained by III, 58.

**ध्रु-हु-जि-ह्र-ध्वानां णोऽन्त्ये ह्रस्वः ॥५६॥** *Na* is to be employed at the end of the roots, *śru*, etc., and the long vowel in *lū* and *dhū* is to be shortened. ध्रु—ध्रुणइ ; हु—हुणइ ; जि—जिणइ ; लू—लुणइ ; ध्रू—ध्रुणइ ॥ According to some later authors, the case is optional with the root *jī*, to conquer. जयति=जिणइ, जअइ ॥

**भावकर्मणोर्व्वञ्च ॥५७॥** *Vva*, as well as *va*, is to be employed at the end of the roots *fru*, etc. (S. 56) in the *Bhāva*° and the *Karma-vāchya*, i.e., when the passive voice is signified. भ्रूयते=ब्रुवइ, सुणिजइ । हुवइ, हुणिजइ । जिवइ ; जिणिजइ । लुवइ, लुणिजइ । धुवइ, धुणिजइ ॥

**गमादीनां द्वित्वं वा ॥५८॥** When the passive voice is signified, the final letter of the roots, *gam*, etc., is doubled optionally. Cf. *supra*, VII, 9. गम्यते=गम्मइ ; also गमिजइ, गमीअइ ॥ रम्मइ ; रमिजइ, रमीअइ ॥ हस्सइ ; हसिजइ, हसीअइ ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Hem. गम्—गम्मइ, हम्मइ, अईइ, अइच्छइ, अणुवजइ, अवजसइ, उपकुसइ, अकुसइ, पच्चइ, पच्छन्दइ, शिम्महइ, णीइ, णीणइ, णीलुकइ, पदअइ, रम्मइ, परिअजइ, वोलइ, परिअलइ, शिरिणासइ, शिवहइ, अवसेहइ, अवहरइ ॥

**लिहेलिज्झः ॥५९॥** When the passive voice is signified, *lijjha* is substituted for the root *lih*, to lick. लिज्झइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Some later authors suggest *dubbha*, *libbha* and *vabbha* for the roots *duh*, *lih* and *vah* respectively.

**ह-क्रोहो-र-कीरो ॥६०॥** When the passive voice is signified, *hīra* and *kīra* are severally substituted for the roots *hṛi* and *kṛi*. हियते=हीरइ । क्रियते=कीरइ ॥

**गृहेदीर्घो वा ॥६१॥** When the passive voice is signified, *ā* is optionally substituted for the *a* in the root *grah*, to seize. गृह्यते=गाहिजइ, गहिजइ ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*.

**क्तेन दिवणादयः ॥६२॥** *Diṇṇa*, etc., are used for some roots followed by *kta* (affix of the past participle). Cf. VII, 28, 32. दत्त=दिरणं ; रुदित=रुणं ; वस्त=हित्थं ; दग्ध=दड्ढं ; रक्क, रज्जित=रत्तं ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Hem. आक्रान्त=अप्फुरणो ; उत्कृष्ट=उक्कोसं ; स्पष्ट=फुडं (cf. स्फुट) ; अतिक्रान्त=बोलिणो ; विकसित=बोसट्ठो ; निपातित=निष्ठुट्ठो ; रुम=लुगो ; निलीन, नष्ट=लिहक्को ; प्रमुषित, प्रमुष्ट=पम्हट्ठो ; अजित=विटत्तं ; स्पृष्ट=छित्तं ; स्थापित=निमिअं ; आखादित=चक्खिअं ; लून=लुअं ; त्यक्त=जडं ; क्षित=भोसिअं ; उद्धृत or उद्धृत=निच्छुडं ; पर्यस्त=परहत्थं, पलोडं ; ह्वित=हीसमणं ॥

**विदेर्विसुरः ॥६३॥** *Visūra* is substituted for the root *khid*, to be distressed. **खियते=विसुरइ ॥** Some later authors prefer *jūra* and *visūra* for the root *khid*. **जूरइ, विसुरइ ॥** Cf. S. 64. Hem. also has **खियइ ॥**

**क्रुधेर्जूरः ॥६४॥** *Jūra* is substituted for the root *krudh*, to be angry. **क्रुध्यति=जूरइ ॥** Hem. also **क्रुज्मइ ॥**

**चर्चश्चम्पः ॥६५॥** *Champa* is substituted for the root *charch*, to study. **चर्चति=चम्पइ ॥** This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

**त्रसेर्वज्जः ॥६६॥** Var. lect. **•वुज्जः (K.) ॥** *Vajja* is substituted for the root *tras*, to fear. **तसति=वज्जइ (Bh.); वुज्जइ (K.) ॥** Hem. **डरइ, वज्जइ, वोज्जइ, तसइ ॥**

**मृजेर्लुभ-सुपौ ॥६७॥** Var. lect. **•लुह-पुसौ (K.) ॥** *Lubha* and *supa* according to Bh., but *luha* and *pusa* according to K., are substituted for the root *mṛj*, to cleanse. **मार्ष्टि=लुभइ, सुपइ, (Bh.); लुहइ, पुसइ (K.) ॥** For the forms *supa* and *pusa*, cf. *supra*, IV, 29. Hem. **मज्जइ, उग्गुसइ, लज्जइ, पुज्जइ, पुंसइ, फुसइ, लुहइ, डुलइ, रोसाणइ ॥**

**वुट्ठ-खुप्पौ मज्जेः ॥६८॥** Var. lect. **वुट्ठ• (K.) ॥** *Vuṭṭa* (or *vuḍḍa*) and *khuppa* are substituted for the root *masj*, to be immersed. **मज्जति=वुट्ठइ or वुड्ठइ; खुप्पइ ॥** Cf. Pāli **मज्जति=डुब्बइ ॥** For **वुट्ठ** and **डुब्ब**, cf. *supra*, II, 2; IV, 29. Hem. **मज्जइ, आउट्ठइ, णिउट्ठइ, वुट्ठइ, खुप्पइ ॥**

**इदोः पुलअ-णिअक्क-अवक्खाः ॥६९॥** *Pulao*, *ṇiakkha* and *avakkha* are substituted for the root *dṛś*, to see. **परयति=पुलअइ, णिअक्कइ, अवक्खइ ॥** This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Hem. **निअच्छइ, पेच्छइ, अवयच्छइ, अवयज्मइ, वज्जइ, सज्जवइ, देक्खइ, ओअक्खइ, अवक्खइ, अवअक्खइ, पुलोएइ, पुलएइ, निअइ, अवआसइ, पासइ ॥**

**शक्तेस्तर-वम-तीराः ॥७०॥** *Tara*, *vaa* and *tira* are substituted for the root *śak*, to be able. Cf. S. 52. **शक्नोति=तरइ, वमइ, तीरइ ॥** Hem. **सक्कइ, जयइ, तरइ, तीरइ, पारइ ॥**

**क्षेषाणामवन्तता ॥७१॥** The *anubandha* or final part of the remaining roots are elided and the roots are considered as ending in *a*.

अम्—अमइ ; बुम्—बुम्भइ ॥ Hem. अम्—ठिरिठिअइ, डुण्डुअइ, ढण्डणइ, चकम्मइ, भम्मइ, भमइ, भमाइ, तलअणइ, ऋणइ, ऋम्भइ, भुमइ, गुमइ, फुमइ, फुसइ, डुमइ, डुसइ, परीइ, परइ, भमइ ॥

### NOTES

**Summary.** भू=हु, हुव ; प्रभू=पभ ; त्वर=तुवर ; घुण=घोल ; नुद्=णोल ; इ=दू ; पट=फल ; पद्=पाल ; वृष्=वरिस, cf. कृष्, मृष्, हृष् ; मृ=मर, cf. घृ, etc. ; कृ=कर, कृण ; जम्=जम्भाअ ; ग्रह=गोयह ; स्मृ=भर, सुमर ; भी=भा, बीह ; घ्रा=पा, पाअ ; म्लै=वा, वाअ ; तृप्=थिम्भ ; ज्ञा=जाण, मुण ; जल्=जम्भ ; स्था=ठाअ, cf. ध्यै, गै ; खाद्=खा, cf. धाव् ; प्रस्=विस ; चि=चिण ; क्री=कण ; विक्री=विक्रै, विक्रिण ; उद्भ्रा=उद्भुमा ; अद्या=सह ; अवगाह्=ओवाह ; अवकास्=ओवास ; निर्मा=णिम्माण ; चि=किज्ज ; भिद्=भिन्द, cf. छिद् ; कथ्=कठ ; वेष्ट्=वेढ ; उद्वेष्ट्=उव्वेज्ज, cf. सवेष्ट् ; रुद्=रुव ; उद्विज्=उव्विव ; वृध्=वड्ढ ; हन्=हम्म ; रुध्=रुस, cf. तुष्, etc. ; ब्रज्=बज्ज, cf. वृत् ; युध्=जुज्ज, cf. बुध् ; रुध्=रुध, रुम्म ; मृद्=मल ; शद्=सड, cf. पत् ; शक्=सक्क, तर, वअ, तीर, cf. लग्, etc. ; स्फुट्=फुट्ट, फुड ; cf. चल् ; प्रमील्=पमिल ; भ्रू=घुण ; cf. हु, etc. ; गम्+यक्=गम्म, गम ; लिह्+यक्=लिज्ज ; ह्+यक्=हीर, cf. कृ ; ग्रह्+यक्=गाह, गाह ; खिद्=विसूर ; क्रुध्=जूर ; चर्च=चम्भ ; तस्=तुज्ज ; मृज्=लुभ, लुप ; मज्ज=तुड्ड, लुप्प ; दश=पुलअ, शिअक्क, अवक्ख ॥ Grierson (*M.A.S.B.*, VIII, 2) divides Prakrit roots into four classes: (1) those which are identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots in meaning and form; (2) those which are regularly derived from corresponding Sanskrit forms according to ordinary phonetic rules; (3) those which cannot be connected with Sanskrit roots by the accepted rules of phonetics; and (4) those which are derived from Sanskrit but have changed their meanings and are therefore equated with some other Sanskrit roots with similar meaning by orthodox grammarians. The Prakrit roots are broadly classified by orthodox Indian authorities into (1) *tadbhava*, (2) *tatsama*, and (3) *desi* or *desaja*. For these terms, see *Introductory Note*. The influence of provincial dialects

were gradually increasing. Later authors usually suggest a large number of Prakrit substitutes for a single Sanskrit root.

**Prakrit Roots from Hemachandra.** Some of the substitutes suggested by Hem. have already been noticed above. Some others are quoted below. कथ्=कह, वज्जर, पज्जर, उप्पाल, पिङ्गण, संघ, बोझ, चव, जम्प, सीस, साह, वुक ॥ जुगुप्स्=भुण, दुगुच्छ, दुगुञ्छ, जुगुच्छ, etc. ॥ बुभुज्=शीरव, बुभुक्ख ॥ वीज्=वोज्ज, वीज ॥ पिब्=पिज्ज, डझ, पट्ट, घोट, पिअ ॥ उद्वा=ओहम्मा, वसुआ, उक्वा ॥ निद्रा=ओहीर, उक्क, निहा ॥ णा=अभ्युत्त, एहा ॥ संस्त्यायति=संखाइ ॥ स्था=ठा, थक्क, चिद्र, शिरप्प ॥ उत्था=उट्ट, उक्कुुर ॥ छद्+णिच्=णुम, नूम, णूम, सन्नुम, डक्क, ओम्वाल, पव्वाल, छाय ॥ निवारि=णिहोड, णिवार ॥ पाति=पाड, णिहोड ॥ तुलु=तुल, ओहाम ॥ विरेचि=ओलुण्ड, उल्लुण्ड, पल्हत्थ, विरेअ ॥ ताडि=ताड, आहोड, विहोड ॥ मिथ्रि=वीसाल, मेलव, मिस्स ॥ उद्धूलि=गुण्ट, उद्धूल ॥ भ्रामि=तालिकाण्ट, तमाड, भाम, भमाड, भमाव ॥ नाशि=विउड, नासव, हारव, विप्पगाल, पलाव, नास ॥ दर्शि=दाव, दंस, दक्खव, दरिस ॥ उद्धाटि=उग्ग, उग्घाड ॥ स्पृहि=सिह ॥ संमावि=आसङ्ग, संभाव ॥ उन्नामि=उत्थङ्ग, उल्लाल, गुलुगुञ्छ, उप्पेल, उन्नाम ॥ प्रस्थापि=पट्टव, पेण्डव, पट्टाव ॥ विशापि=बोक्क, अलुक्क, विण्णव ॥ आप=अल्लिव, चञ्चुप्प, पणाम, अप्प ॥ यापि=जव, जाव ॥ भ्रावि=ओम्वाल, पव्वाल, पाव ॥ विक्रोशि=पक्खोड, विक्रोस ॥ रोमन्थि=ओग्गाल, वग्गोल, रोमन्थ ॥ कामि=णिहुव, काम ॥ प्रकाशि=णुव्व, पयास ॥ कम्पि=चिच्छोल, कम्प ॥ आरोहि=वल, आरोव ॥ दुलि=रक्खोल, दोल ॥ रज्जि=राव, रज्ज ॥ घटि=परिवाड, घड ॥ वेष्टि=परिआल, वेठ ॥ राज्=अग्घ, छज्ज, सह, रीर, रेह, राय ॥ आली=अल्ली ॥ निली=णिलीअ, णिलुक्क, णिरिग्घ, लुक्क, लिक्क, लिहक्क, निलिज्ज ॥ विली=विरा, विलिज्ज ॥ रु=रुज्ज, रुण्ट, रव ॥ श्रु=हण्ण, सुण ॥ धू=धुण, धुव ॥ भू=हो, हुव, हव, भव ॥ निस्तु=णीहर, नील, घाड, वरहाड, नीसर ॥ जाणु=जग्ग, जागर ॥ व्यापु=आअङ्ग, वावर ॥ संवृ=साहर, साहट्ट, संवर ॥ आह=सन्नाम, आदर ॥ प्रह=सार, पहर ॥ अवतु=ओह, ओरस, ओअर ॥ पच्=सोझ, पउल, पय ॥ मुच्=छट्ट, अबहेड, मेझ, उस्सिक्क, रेअव, णिङ्गुञ्छ, धंसाड, मुअ ॥ वच्=वेहव, वेलव, जरव, उमच्छ, वध ॥ सिच्=सिअ, सिम्प, सेअ ॥ गर्ज्=बुक्क, गज्ज ॥ युज्=जुज्ज, जुज्ज, जुम्प ॥ भुज्=भुज्ज, जिम, जेम, कम्म, अणह, समाण, चमठ, चट्ट ॥ जन्=

जाअ, अम्म ॥ आरम्=आरम्भ, आढव, आरभ ॥ आरभ्यते=आढप्यइ, आढवीअइ ॥  
 अंश=फिड, फिट, फुड, फुट, चुंङ्क, भुङ्क, भंस ॥ नश्=गिरियास, निवह, अवसेह,  
 पडिसा, सेह, अवहर, नस्स । निवेध=इक्क, निसेह ॥ खप्=कमवस, लिस, लोड, सुअ ॥  
 गुप्=विर, णड, गुप्प ॥ मण्ड=चिअ, चिअअ, चिअिअ, रीड, ठिविडिक्क, मण्ड ॥ प्रदीप्=  
 तेअव, सन्धुअ, सन्धुक्क, अम्भुत्त, पलीव ॥ क्षर्=क्षिर, ऋर, पञ्जर, पञ्चभ, शिअल,  
 शिअिअ ॥ स्पृश=फास, फंस, फरिस, छिव, छिह, आलुइअ, आलिह । प्रविश=रिअ,  
 पविस । पिष्=निवह, गिरियास, गिरियाज्ज, रोअ, चड्ढ, पीस ॥ गवेष=डुअडुअ,  
 ढण्डोल्ल, गमेस, घत्त, गवेस ॥ काड्छ=आह, अहिलह, अहिलअ, वअ, वम्फ, मह,  
 सिह, विलुम्प, कइअ ॥ प्रतीक्ष=सामय, विहीर, विरमाल, पडिअल । तक्ष=तच्छ,  
 चच्छ, रम्प, रम्फ, तक्ख ॥ हस्=हस, गुज ॥ वस्=डर, बोज्ज, वज्ज, तस ॥  
 उल्लस्=ऊसल, ऊसुम्भ, णिल्लस, पुलआअ, गुजोल्ल, गुजुल्ल, आरोअ, उल्लस ॥ आरुह=  
 चड, वलग्ग, आरुह ॥ etc., etc.

### नवमः परिच्छेदः—निपाताः ॥

#### Chapter IX.—Indeclinable Particles

This Chapter deals with interjections and other indeclinables. Note that some of the words can be derived from Sanskrit sources by applying phonetic rules.

**निपाताः ॥१॥** This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) and the word *nipāta* (i.e. an indeclinable particle) is to be read in all the *Sūtras* of the section

**हुं दान-पृच्छा-निर्द्धारणेषु ॥२॥** Hem. prefers निवारणे for निर्द्धारणे ॥ The particle *hum* is used in the sense of giving, asking or speaking emphatically. दान—गृहाण आत्मनः जीवम्=हुं गेएह अप्पणो जीअं ॥ पृच्छा—कथय साधुसु सद्भावम्=हुं कहेहि साधुसु सम्भावं ॥ निर्द्धारण—भव तुष्णीकः=हुं हुवसु तुणिहक्को ॥

**विअ वेअ अवधारणे ॥३॥** *Via* and *vea* are used in the sense of asseveration. एवम् एव=एवं विअ, एवं वेअ ॥ For एव=वेअ, cf. IV, 29.

**ओ सूचना-पञ्चास्ताप-विकल्पेषु ॥४॥** *O* is used in the sense of indica-

tion, remorse and indecision. ओ आओओ । ओ गिहओ राओ । ओ पुरिसो हये ॥ Hem. omits पञ्चात्ताप ॥

इर किर किल अनिश्चिताख्याने ॥५॥ *Ira, kira and kila* are used in doubtful assertion. प्रेक्षस्व किल तेन हतः=येकस्व इर तेण हरो । अथ किल तेन व्यवसितः=अथ किर तेण व्यवसिओ ॥ अयं किल स्वप्नः=अथ किल सिवियाओ ॥ For किल=किर and किल=इर, see *supra*, II, 30, note; for the latter, cf. also the rule regarding the elision of *k*, *supra*, II, 2. note. Ins. किंचित्=किंचि, इ'चि (C. Asia), etc.

हुं कहु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावनेषु ॥६॥ *K*. has *ku* instead of *khu*. *Hun* and *kkhu* are used in the sense of resolution, doubt or reflection. एसा हुं रमणी । सा कहु कामिणी । सा कहु पीडए ॥ Hem. हु कु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावन-विस्मये ॥

णवरः केवले ॥७॥ *Navara* is used in the sense of "only." केवलम् अन्नम्=णवर अणं ॥ एसो णवर कन्दप्पो, एसा णवर सा रई ॥

आनन्तर्ये णवरि ॥८॥ *Var. lect.* णवविअ (*K.*) ॥ *Navari* (*K. navaria*) is used in the sense of immediate sequence. *K.*—हत्वा रावणं रामः गतः अनन्तरं प्रथाम्=हतूण रावणं रामो गओ णवरिअ (or, णवरि) प्पहं ॥

किणो प्रभे ॥९॥ *Kiṇo* is used in the sense of question. किन्तु हससि =किणो हससि (Why are you laughing ?) ॥ Cf. Beng. *kena*, pronounced *kæno*.

अव्वो दुःख-सूचना-सम्भावनेषु ॥१०॥ *Var. lect.* अव्वो अम्मो दुःख-सूचनासम्भावनेषु (*K.*) ॥ *Avvo*, according to Bh., is used in the sense of distress, indication or reflection; but according to *K.*, *avvo* and *ammo* are used in the sense of distress, indication and address. अहो कञ्जलरसरजिताभ्याम् अहिभ्याम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) कञ्जलरसरजिएहिं अच्छीहिं । अहो अपरमिव=अव्वो (or अम्मो) अवरं विअ । अहो एतम् इव अत्तुम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) यां मिव अत्तुं ॥ Hem. अव्वो सूचनादुःखसंभाषणापराधविस्मयानन्दादरभयजेदविषाद-पञ्चात्तापे ॥ अम्मो आधये ॥

अलाहि निवारणे ॥११॥ *Alāhi* is used in the sense of opposition. अलं कलहबन्धेन=अलाहि कलहबन्धेण ॥

**अहं बले सम्भाषणे ॥१२॥** *At* and *vale* are used in the sense of addressing a person. अपि मूलम् प्रशुष्यति=अहं मूलं पत्सह (Is the root drying up?) ॥ किम् कलयसि अबले=बले किं कलसि अबले ॥ Hem. बले निर्दोरण-निश्चययोः ॥ Cf. हले (Hem. II. 195) with बले ॥ Hem. has अहं सम्भाषणे for सम्भाषणे ॥

**णवि वैपरीत्ये ॥१३॥** *Navī* is used in the sense of contrariety. विपरीतं तथा प्रहसति बाला=णवि तह पवसह बाला ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

**सू कुत्सायाम् ॥१४॥** *Sū* is used in the sense of censure. धिक् खप्रः=सू सिविणो ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Hem. has *thū* for *sū*.

**रे अरे हिरे सम्भाषणरतिकलहाक्षेपेषु ॥१५॥** *Re*, *are* and *hire* are used in the sense of addressing a person, enjoyment, quarrelling and reproach. Bh. रे मा कुरुष्व=रे मा करेहि । नागः असि अरे=णाओ सि अरे । दृष्टः असि हिरे=दिद्रो सि हिरे ॥ Bh. possibly takes *ratī-kalaha* (cf. Hem.) as one word in composition. K. रे गच्छसु । अरे को सि । मुचसु मं हिरे ॥ Hem. prefers *re* for *sambhāṣaṇa* and *are* for *ratī-kalaha*.

— **मिम्व-मिव-विमा इवार्थे ॥१६॥** *Mmiva*, *miva* and *via* are used in the sense of *vva*, i.e., like. गगनम् इव कृष्णम्=गगनं मिम्व (or मिव, or विम्व) कसणं ॥ Hem. मिव पिव विव व्व व विम्व इवार्थे वा ॥

— **अज्ज आमन्त्रणे ॥१७॥** *Ajja* is used in the sense of courteous address. अहो महानुभाव किं करोषि=अज्ज महाणुदाव किं करेसि ॥ *Ajja* is no doubt the same as Sanskrit *ārya*. This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

**शेषः संस्कृतात् ॥१८॥** The rest (i.e. all that has not been dealt with above), whether rules for letters, genders, derivatives, composition or affixes, etc., are to be learned from Sanskrit grammar. But they are to be modified according to the rules given above in the work. Note that Sanskrit was considered by orthodox grammarians to be the base of the Prakrit language. Hem. also gives a similar *Sūtra* at the end of his grammar; but he adds another important rule व्यत्ययश्च ॥ ४४४४ ॥ which allows that all rules about the Prakrit dialects may have exceptions. His rule बहुलम् ॥११२॥ also applies to all the *Sūtras* of



his grammar and is explained as क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् अप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् विभाषा क्वचिद् अन्यदेव भवति ॥

### NOTES

**Nipātas from Hemachandra.** Cf. Hem, II, 175-218. 'Some of the rules have already been noticed above. तं वाक्योपन्यासे ॥ आम्र अभ्युपगमे ॥ पुणरुक्तं कृतकरणे ॥ हन्दि विषाद-विकल्प-पक्षात्ताप-निश्चय-सत्ये ॥ हन्द् च गृहाणार्थं ॥ जेष तेण लक्षण्ये ॥ गण चेन्न चिन्न च अवधारणे ॥ किरेर हिर किलार्थे वा ॥ अण गण् नमर्थे ॥ माहं मार्थे ॥ हद्दी निर्वेदे ॥ वेव्वे भय-वारण-विषादे ॥ वेव्व च आमन्त्रणे ॥ मामि हला हले सख्या वा ॥ दे संमुखीकरणे च ॥ ऊ गर्हाक्षेप-विस्मयसूचने ॥ हरे क्षेपे च ॥ वणे निश्चयविकल्पानु-कम्प्ये च ॥ मणे विमर्शे ॥ स्वयमोर्थे अप्पणो न वा ॥ प्रत्येकमः पाडिक्कं पाडिएक्कं ॥ उअ पश्य ॥ इहरा इतरथा ॥ एकसरिअं अगिति संप्रति ॥ मोरउक्का मुधा ॥ दरार्थाल्पे ॥ इ-जे-राः पादपूरणे ॥ प्यादयः ॥

### SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS

#### दशमः परिच्छेदः ।—पैशाची ॥

#### Chapter X—Paisāchī

Paisāchī is said to be the language of the Pisāchas or goblins. It is believed to have referred to the corrupt Aryan speech adopted by or prevalent among the neighbours of the Indo-Aryans who were usually imbued with Aryan culture and sometimes also with Aryan blood. In some cases, Paisāchī characteristics are noticed in the inscriptions of Northwest and South India. They may be due to Iranian and Dravidian influence on Indo-Aryan speech. The non-aspiration often noticed in the records of those regions is apparently due to the foreign influence. The name Paisāchī is sometimes applied to Pāli. According to Grierson, the Paisāchī dialects are probably local varieties of Pāli which was much mixed with the different forms of Indo-Aryan speech and in certain respects had drawn upon Paisāchī. This feature has been explained by pointing to the fact that Taxila, the great Buddhist university of the early period, was situated in the

country which was the home of the standard Kaikeyī, Paisācī. The above fact however only shows the cosmopolitan character of Pālī which drew upon many dialects including those of Northwest and South India. For the spurious nature of chapters X-XII and for some observations on Paisācī Prakrit, see *Introductory Note* above. There is no commentary of K. on these chapters.

The source of Paisācī is said to be Saurasenī (*infra*, XII). Orthodox grammarians therefore refer only to 'those points on which the former differs from the latter.

**पैशाची ॥१॥** This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 2, note) indicating that the following rules of the chapter describe the characteristics of the Paisācī variety of Prakrit speech.

**प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥** Paisācī has the characteristics of Saurasenī and the following rules refer only to additional peculiarities of the dialect

**वर्गणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोस्त्युजोरनाद्योराद्यौ ॥३॥** When non-initial and single, the third and fourth letters of a *varga* are substituted by the first and second letters respectively. गगन=गकनं (S. 5); मेघ=मेखो; राजा=राचा; वडिश=वडिसं; दशवदन=दसवननो; माधव=माथपो; गोविन्द=गोपिन्तो; केशव=केसपो; सरभस=सरफसं; सरभ=सलफो ॥ Why "single"? संगामो; वग्धो ॥ Why "non-initial"? गमन=गमनं ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, notes.

**इवस्य पिब ॥४॥** The particle *iva* is substituted by *piva*. कमलं पिब मुखं ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16; *infra*, XII, 24.

**णो नः ॥५॥** *N* is substituted by *n* (cf. *supra*, II, 42). तरुणी=तलुनी ॥

**ष्टस्य सटः ॥६॥** The conjunct *shṭ* is substituted by *sata* (cf. *supra*, III, 10; also vowel-augmentation, *supra*, III, 59ff.). कष्ट=कसटं ॥

**स्तस्य सनः ॥७॥** The conjunct *sn* is substituted by *sana* (cf. III, 33; 62). ज्ञान=सनानं; स्नेह=सनेहो ॥

**यस्य रिः ॥८॥** The conjunct *ry* is substituted by *ria* (cf. *supra*, III, 17-21; *infra*, X, 11; XI 7). **आर्या=मारिआ ॥**

**हस्य हः ॥९॥** The conjunct *ññ* is substituted for *jñ* (cf. III, 5 and 44; XII, 6-7; also Hem., *infra*, XI, Notes). **विज्ञात=विज्जातो ; सर्वज्ञ=सर्वज्जो ॥**

**कन्यायां न्यस्य ॥१०॥** The conjunct *ny* in the word *kanyā* is substituted by *ññ*. **कन्या=कज्जा ॥** Cf. Hem. **न्यत्योऽर्मः**, *infra*, Notes.

**ज्ज च ॥११॥** The conjunct *jj* (which is the Mahārāṣṭrī-Saurasenī modification of Sanskrit *ry* ; cf. *supra*, III, 17; X, 8) is substituted by *chch*. **कार्य=कज्ज=कज्ज ॥**

**राज्ञो राचि टा-ऊलि-स्-रिषु वा ॥१२॥** When followed by *tā* (inst. sing.), *ñasī* (abl. sing.), *ñas* (gen. sing.) and *ñi* (loc. sing.), the word *rājan* is substituted by *rāchi* optionally. **राज्ञा=राचिना, रज्जा ; राज्ञि=राचिनि, रज्जि ॥** But in the other case-affixes : **राचा ; राचान ; रज्जो ॥** Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

**कृत्तून ॥१३॥** Var lect. **कृत्तून ॥** The absolutive verbal affix *ktvā* is substituted by *tūna* (or *tūnam*). **कृत्वा=कातून ( or कातून ) ॥** Cf. Hem. *infra*, Notes.

**हृदयस्य ह्रियमर्क ॥१४॥** The word *hrīdaya* is substituted by *hrua-kaṃ*. Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes

### NOTES

**Paiśācī** as known to Hemachandra. In Hem. grammar (VIII, IV, 303-24) we have the following account of Paiśācī. Consonants as a rule are not elided. **ज्ञ=ज्ज ॥ पञ्जा ॥** **ज्ञ** in the declensional forms of the word *rajan* is optionally substituted by **चिच्** ॥ **राज्ञा=राचिना ; राज्ञः=राचिनी ॥** **न्य, एय=ज्ज ॥ कज्जका ; पुज्जकज्जो ॥** **य** is substituted by **न** ॥ **त** is not dropped as in Mahārāṣṭrī and not changed to **द** as in Saurasenī. But **द** is changed to **त** ॥ **मदन=मतनी ; वतनक ; तामो-**

तरो ॥ ल is changed to ळ ॥ कुळं ; जळं ॥ Cf. *supra*, II, 23, note.  
 हृदय=हितपकं ॥ This may be due to mislection of हितयक in the source  
 of Hem. But the form हितपक can be supported if we follow the  
 process : हृदयक=हृदयक=हितपक ॥ कूटम्भ=कूटुम्भकं ॥ क्ला=त्न ॥ गन्तुन ; पठि-  
 त्तुन ; करित्तुन ॥ But ष्टा=दन्, त्थून ॥ नष्टा=नदून, नत्थून । हष्टा=तदून,  
 तत्थून ॥ Occasionally र्य=रिय ॥ भारिया ॥ Similalry सिनात', कसट' ;  
 but सुजो, सुनुसा, तिद्रो ॥ These are really examples of vowel-augmen-  
 tation. यादश=यातिसो ; also तातिसो, etc. Passive voice is indicated by  
 इय्य । गीयते=गिय्यते ॥ दिय्यते, पठिय्यते ॥ But क्रियते=कीरते ॥ The future  
 termination is एय्य instead of स्ति of Sauraseni. एय्य is however the  
 optative form used for the future which is lost. Thus हुवेय्य (=भवेत् )  
 is used for भविष्यति ॥ Abl. sing. term. of words ending in *a*, is *āto*  
 and *ātu*. (cf. *d* of Sauraseni changed to *t*). दरात=नूरातो, दूरातु ॥ तेन,  
 अनेन=नेन ॥ अनया=नाए ॥

**Chūlikā Paisāchī.** Hemachandra also describes a variety of the  
 Paisāchī dialect, which is called the Chūlikā Paisāchī. It differs from  
 the Paisāchī described by Hem. only on the following points,  
 (1) The third and fourth letters of a *varga* are respectively sub-  
 stituted by its first and second letters. According to some authorities,  
 the substitution does not take place when the third or fourth  
 letter is at the beginning of a word or is in a word formed of  
 the root *yuj*. दामोतर ; भक्तती ; but नियोजितं ॥ Cf. *supra*, X, 3.  
 (2) The consonant *r* is optionally changed to *l*. गौरी=बोली ॥  
 Cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, Notes. Note that Vararuchi's Paisāchī resem-  
 bles Hemachandra's Chūlikā Paisāchī. For an elaborate early account  
 of the Paisāchī dialects as given by Purushottama, see Appendix.

एकादशः परिच्छेदः ।—मागधी ॥

### Chapter XI.—Māgadhī.

Māgadhī literally indicates the language of Magadha (South  
 Bihār). It is supposed to have been the Prakrit speech prevalent in

Eastern India. According to the Indian dramatic convention, *Māgadhi* is to be spoken by persons working in the king's harem (*rājāntaḥ-purachārin*), while the dialect known as *Ārdha-Māgadhi* is to be used by the servants, princes and *freshthins*. The basis of *Māgadhi* is said to be *Saurasenī* and orthodox grammarians only deal with the points whereon the former differs from the latter.

**मागधी ॥१॥** This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the characteristics of the *Māgadhi* variety of Prakrit speech.

**प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥** The basis of *Magadhi* is *Saurasenī*. Cf. X, 2.; *infra*, XII.

**षसोः शः ॥३॥** *ś* is substituted for both *sh* and *s*; cf. *supra*, II, 43. माष=माशे; विलास=विलाशे (cf. *infra*, S. 10). || Note that the *Kāyethī* script prevalent in South Bihār has only the palatal sibilant and that in Bengali all the three sibilants are pronounced like the palatal. This peculiarity is indicated in some early inscriptions, e.g., in the *Jogimara Cave Inscription*. In the *Nagarjuna Cave Inscriptions*, *sh* is used for both *s* and *ś*. This fact seems to refer to the peculiarity of pronunciation recognised in the present *Sūtra*. For the change of *r* to *l* and of *ny*, *ny*, *ñ* and *ñ* to *ññ*, see Hem., *infra*, Notes.

**जोः यः ॥४॥** The consonant *j* is substituted by *y*. जायते=यायदे || Note that *Aśoka's Kharoshthī* records have कंबोय, समाय, राया, but also मजूर || Cf. *supra*, II, 31.

**चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तथोच्चारणः ॥५॥** Lassen suggests the emendation चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता° and Cowell, चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता° || This *Sūtra* seems to point to niceties of pronunciation. It may refer affirmatively or negatively to the pronunciation of *ch*, *j*, etc., as *ts*, *dj*, etc., as is now the case in Eastern Bengal. On the strength of the views expressed by *Purushottama* (see Appendix), *Nitti-Dolchi* thinks that no emendation of the *Sutra* is necessary; she suggests that letters of the *cha-*

*varga* were pronounced possibly as dento-palatals in both Mahārāshṭri and Saurasenī.

हृदयस्य हृदयकः ॥६॥ *Haḍakka* is substituted for the word *hṛidaya*.

य-ज-योय्यः ॥७॥ The conjuncts *ry* and *rj* are substituted by *yy*.  
कार्य=कय्ये ; दुर्जन=दुय्यणे (cf. S. 10) ॥

क्षस्य स्कः ॥८॥ *Ksh* is substituted by *sk* (cf. *supra*, III, 29-30).  
दक्ष=दस्के ; राक्षस=लस्करो ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes. Ins. हुविष्क,  
हुविक्ष ; but पुष्कर=पोक्षराणि ॥

अस्मदः सौ हके हगे अहके ॥९॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing.), the pronoun *asmad* is substituted by *hake*, *hage* and *ahake*.  
अहम्=हके ; हगे ; अहके ॥ Cf. Aśokan Ins. हकं ॥

अत इदेतौ लुक् च ॥१०॥ When the case-affix *su* (nom. sing.) follows a word ending in *a*, *su* is either elided or is substituted by *i* or *e*.  
एषः राजा=एशि लाआ । एषः पुरुषः=एशे पुलिशे, एश पुलिश ॥

कान्तादुश्च ॥११॥ In words formed by *kta*, the verbal affix of the past participle, *su* (nom. sing.) is either elided or is substituted by *u*, *i*, or *e*. हसित=हशिदु, also हशिदि, हशिदे, हसिद ॥ Cf. VII, 28 and 32; VIII, 2, 5, 62; and *infra*, S. 15.

उसो हो वा दीर्घश्च ॥१२॥ The case-affix *nas* (gen. sing.) is optionally substituted by *hu* and the preceding vowel is lengthened.  
पुरुषस्य=पुलिशाह, also पुलिशरश ॥ Cf. *supra*, V, 8; also Hem., *infra*, Notes.

अदीर्घः सम्बुद्धौ ॥१३॥ In the vocative, the final vowel of the words ending in *a* is lengthened. हे पुरुष=पुलिशा ॥

चिहृस्य चिष्टः ॥१४॥ *Chitṭha*, the Saurasenī form (XII, 16) of the Sanskrit root *tishṭha* (i.e., *sthā*), is substituted by *chishṭha*. पुरुषः तिष्ठति=पुलिशे चिष्टदि ॥

कृज्मुक्ग्मां कस्य कः ॥१५॥ The present participial affix *kta* after

the roots *hr̥i*, *m̥pi* and *gam* is substituted by *ḍ*. कृत=कटे ; मृत=मढे ; गत=गढे ॥ Cf. Aśokan कटे, मुढे, etc.

को दाणिः ॥१६॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *dāṇi*. कृत्वा आगतः=करिदाणि आगढे ॥

शृगालस्य शिवाल-शिवाल-शिवालकाः ॥१७॥ The word *śṛgāla* is substituted by *śālā*, *śiāle* and *śiālaka*.

### NOTES

**Māgadhī as described by Hemachandra.** Hema., IV, 287-302. Nom. sing. forms of masc. words ending in *a* is obtained by substituting *e* for *a*. एषः=एशे ; मेघः=मेशे ॥ *R* and *s* (also *sh*) are respectively substituted by *l* and *ṣ*. सारसः=सालशे ; पुरुषः=पुलिशे ॥ [Cf. रसोलशे ॥४१२८८॥ Note that the important feature *r* changed to *l* is ignored by Vararuchi]. In conjuncts, however, *s* is not changed, while *sh* is changed to *ṣ*. भीमसेनस्स । शुष्कं, कट्टं ॥ The operation of the rules of assimilation is partially suspended and conjuncts like स्ख, स्प, ज, स्ट, स्त, ख, स्क and छ, not used in the other forms of Prakrit speech, are used in Māgadhī. But Māgadhī passages in dramas do not always conform to this rule. ज, य=य ॥ य=य्य ॥ अज्जुन=अज्युणे । मय=मय्यं । यदि=यदि and not जदि (cf. *supra* II, 31). But व्रजति=वज्जदि ॥ Initial ज=य । जनपदः=यणवदे ॥ त=द as in Sauraseni. Gen. sing. termination of words ending in *a* is आह, and gen. plu. term. is आहँ optionally. इहसास्य=एलिशाह ; शोणितस्य=शोणिदाह । सज्जनानाम्=शय्यणाहँ ॥ The usual forms like भीमसेनस्स, नलिन्दाणं are also found. अहम्, वयम्=हगे ॥ ह, छ=स्ट । भट्टिनी=भट्टिणी ; कोष्ठागार=कोस्टागालं ॥ स्थ, र्य=स्त । उपस्थित=उवस्तिदे, अर्थवती=अस्तवदी ॥ न्य, रय, ङ, ज=ज्ज ॥ अभिमन्यु=अहिमज्जु ; पुण्य=पुज्जं ; अवज्ञा=अवज्जा ; अजलि=अज्जली ॥ Non-initial च्छ=ख । गच्छ=गख ; even वत्सल=वच्छल=वखले ॥ Non-initial क्ष=क ; but initial क्ष=ख । यक्ष=यके, राक्षस=लकरी ॥ क्ख=क in the roots प्रेक्ष् and आवक्ष् ॥ पेस्कदि; आवस्कदि ॥

For another early treatment of the Māgadhī, see Appendix.

**Ardha-Māgadhi.** According to Hemachandra, only one of the characteristics of Māgadhi applies to the Arsha or Ardha-Māgadhi variety of Prakrit. The rule is regarding the change of *a* to *e* of masculine words ending in *a* when they are followed by *su* (nom. sing.). No other rule of Māgadhi applies to Ardha-Māgadhi. It is the language of the Jain canonical literature. Hem. (I, 3) says that all the rules of the Arsha Prakrit are optional. The name Ardha-Māgadhi or Half-Māgadhi is sought to be explained by suggesting that it was the language of the land between Magadha (South Bihār) and Sūrasena (Mathurā) or that it had the characteristics of both the Māgadhi and Sauraseni Prakrits. According to some scholars, it was the language of Oudh. The A. Mg. however seems to have drawn upon different provincial dialects.

द्वादशः परिच्छेदः ।—शौरसेनी ॥

### Chapter XII.—Sauraseni.

Sauraseni means the language of the Sūrasena country (mod. Mathurā region); but it is supposed to have been prevalent in the Madhyadeśa, i.e., the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. The basis of the Sauraseni Prakrit is said to be Mahārāshṭrī (cf. *supra* I-IX). [It has however been recently suggested that Mahārāshṭrī is a later phase of Sauraseni.] Grammarians therefore deal only with those points on which the former differs from the latter. In dramas, this variety of Prakrit is used by respectable ladies in their prose conversations. As Sauraseni is said to be the basis of both Paisācī and Māgadhi, Ch. X and Ch. XI should have followed Ch. XII. Note that neither Bh. nor K. has commented on this chapter.

**शौरसेनी ॥१॥** This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the peculiarities of the Sauraseni variety of Prakrit.

**प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् ॥२॥** Sanskrit forms the basis on which the peculiarities of this dialect are engrafted. The author seems to



suggest that Saurasenī is more closely related to Sanskrit than any other of the Prakrit dialects.

✓ भमादावयुजोस्तथयोर्धौ ॥३॥ When non-initial and single, *t* and *th* are substituted by *ḍ* and *ḍh* respectively. गच्छति=गच्छदि ; कथय=कथेहि ॥

व्यापृते ङः ॥४॥ *T* of the word *vyāpṛta* is substituted by *ḍ*. बावु-  
ढो ॥ Ins. वियापुट, वियापट, वापट ॥

पुत्रेऽपि कश्चित् ॥५॥ *T* of the word *putra* is also sometimes substituted by *ḍ*. पुत्रो ; also पुत्तो ॥

इ गृध्र-समेषु ॥६॥ In the words like *grīdhra*, *ṛi* is substituted by *ṛ*. गृध्र=गिद्धो ॥ This rule seems to be a modification of *supra*, I, 27 and 29; cf. also *ibid*, S. 28

ब्रह्मण्य-विज्ञ-यज्ञ-कन्यकानां व्यज्ञ-न्यानां ओ वा ॥७॥ *Ńy*, *jñ* and *nya* in the words *brahmaṇya*, *viñña* *yajña* and *kanyakā* are optionally substituted by *ñj* (cf. *supra*, III, 2 and 44). ब्रह्मण्य=बम्हज्, also बम्हरण् ; विज्ञ=विज्ञो, विरण्यो ; यज्ञ=जज्ञो, जरण्यो ; कन्यका=कजका, करणका ॥

सर्वज्ञेऽङ्गितयोर्णः ॥८॥ *Jñ* of the word *sarvajña* (cf. *supra*, III, 5) and *ñg* of the word *ṅgita* (*Mahārāṣṭrī ṅgīṭam*) are substituted by *ṇ*. सञ्वरणो । इरण्यदो ॥

क् इयः ॥९॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *ia* (cf. *supra*, IV, 23). कृत्वा=करिअ ; गत्वा=गमिअ ; पठित्वा=पठिअ ॥ Cf. Beng. करिया ॥ etc

कृ-गमोर्दुअः ॥१०॥ When following the roots *kṛ* and *gam*, the affix *ktvā* is substituted also by *dua*. कृत्वा=कडुअ, also करिअ ; गत्वा=गडुअ, also गमिअ ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

णिज्ज्ञासोर्वा ङीवे स्वरदीर्घश्च ॥११॥ The case-affixes *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) after neuter words are optionally substituted by *ṇi* and the preceding vowel is lengthened. जलाणि, also जलाइ ; वणाणि, also वणाइ ॥

ओ भुवस्तिङि ॥१२॥ When followed by *tin* (i.e., the conjugational

affixes of verbs) the root *bhū* is substituted by *bho*. भवति=भोदि ; भवतु=भोदु ॥

न लृटि ॥१३॥ The substitution of *bhū* by *bho* does not take place when it is followed by the conjugational affix *lṛiṭ* indicating future tense. भविष्यति=भविस्सदि, हुविस्सदि ॥

ददातेर्दे दइस्स लृटि ॥१४॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, *dā* is substituted by *de*. ददाति=देदि ; ददातु=देदु ॥ But when followed by *lṛiṭ* (conjugational affix of the future tense), *dā* is substituted by *daissa*. दास्यामि=दइस्सं ॥

डुकुञ्जः करः ॥१५॥ The root *kri*, when followed by conjugational affixes, is substituted by *kara* (VIII, 13). करोति=करोदि, करेदि ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं ॥

स्थश्चिद्धः ॥१६॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, the root *sthā* is substituted by *chittla* तिष्ठति=चिद्धदि ; स्थास्यामि=चिद्धिस्सं ॥ Cf. XI, 14.

स्मरतेः सुमरः ॥१७॥ The root *smṛi* is substituted by *sumara* (cf. *supra*, VIII, 18). स्मरति=सुमरेदि ; स्मृत्वा=सुमरिअ ॥

दहोः पेक्खः ॥१८॥ The root *dṛiṣ* is substituted by *pekkha*. पश्यति=पेक्खदि ; दृष्ट्वा=पेक्खिअ ॥ Cf. VIII, 69.

अस्तेरच्छः ॥१९॥ The root *as* in the substituted by *achchha*. सन्ति=अच्छन्ति ॥ Cf. हक्वति(हक्वति?) in Central Asian documents; Beng. सन्ति, अस्ति=आछे ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 6f.

तिपात्थि ॥२०॥ The root *as* when followed by *tip* (3rd pers. sing. pres.) is substituted by *atthi*. अस्ति=अत्थि ॥

भविष्यति मिपा स्सं वा खरदीर्घश्च ॥२१॥ In the future tense the conjugational affix *mip* (1st pers. sing.) is substituted by *ssam*, and the preceding vowel is lengthened optionally. गमिष्यामि=गमिस्सं, गमीसं ; भविष्यामि=भविस्सं, भवीसं ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं, करीसं ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 14.

स्त्रियामिस्थी ॥२२॥ The word *strī* is substituted by *itthi*, इत्थी ॥ Cf. Aśoka इथीकञ्च ॥

**एवस्य ज्जेव्व ॥२३॥** The particle *eva* is substituted by *jjevva*.  
**एव=ज्जेव्व ॥** Cf. Mahārāshṭrī एव, एव् (III, 58 ; IV, 5), विअ, वेअ  
 (IX, 3).

**इवस्य विअ ॥२४॥** The particle *iva* is substituted by *via*. इव=  
 विअ ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16

**अस्मदो जसा वअं च ॥२५॥** *Vaam* is optionally substituted for the  
 pronoun *asmad* with the case-affix *ja* (nom. plu). वयम्=वअं ; also  
 अम्हे ( *supra*, VI, 43) ॥

**सर्वनाम्नां हे स्ति त्वा** [Sic. ०हेः स्ति-त्थौ?] ॥२६॥ The text of the *Sūtra*  
 is corrupt. *Ssim*, *mmi* and *ttha* as substitutes of *ni* (loc. sing.) are  
 enjoined for Mahārāshṭrī (*supra*, VI, 2, and 7 for *ham*). Lassen there-  
 fore suggested that the correct reading of the *Sūtra* would be either  
 हेः स्ति-त्थौ or हेः स्ति-हि-त्थाः ॥ Cowell who thinks that only *mmi* is to be  
 avoided has no doubt that the reading intended is हेः स्ति-त्थौ ॥  
 Chatterji suggests हेः स्ति वा ॥ Ex. पुव्वस्ति, पुव्वस्तिं ॥ The text of  
 Purushottama would suggest the correction सर्वनाम्नां टाड्सुद्धिव्वेत् ॥ किं-  
 यत्तद्भ्यो हेर्हिस्तित्थाः ॥

**धातोर्भाव-कर्तृ-कर्मसु परस्मैपदम् ॥२७॥** Only *parasmaipadī* conjuga-  
 tional affixes are used in Saurasenī कियते=करीअदि ; गम्यते=गमीअदि ॥

**अनन्त्य एअ ॥२८॥** The *Sūtra* which may be corrupt seems to  
 suggest optional forms like करीएदि, गमीएदि (cf. S. 27), करेदि ॥ Cf.  
*supra*, VII, 34. Purushottama has धातोस्तिवादावेदातौ बहुलम् ॥

**मिपो लोटि च ॥२९॥** The text may be corrupt. Cf. *supra*, VII,  
 18; XII, 28. The conjugational affix of the 1st pers. sing. of the  
 imperative mood is substituted by *e* optionally. भवेयम्=भवे, also होसु ॥

**आश्चर्यस्याच्छरिअं ॥३०॥** The word *āscharya* is substituted by  
*achchhariam*. आश्चर्य=अच्छरिअं ॥ Cf. *supra*, III, 18.

**प्रकृत्या दोला-दण्ड-दशनेषु ॥३१॥** *D* in the words *dolā*, *daṇḍa* and  
*daśana* is not substituted by *ḍ* as in Mahārāshṭrī (*supra*, II, 35).

शेषं. महाराष्ट्रीयत् ॥३२॥ Excepting the peculiarities noticed above, the Saurasenī dialect has the same characteristics as the Mahārāshṭrī (*supra*, I-IX).

### NOTES

**Saurasenī as described by Hemachandra.** Cf. Hem. IV, 260-86. Hem. notices the following peculiarities of Saurasenī. Non-initial and single *t* is changed to *d*. In a few cases, *t* in a conjunct is also changed; सउन्दला; महन्दो (=महन्तो<महान्); निषिन्दो; अन्देवर ॥ Initial *t* is changed optionally in तावत्=दाव, ताव ॥ र् is changed to य्य or ज्ज; थ is changed to ध or ह ॥ आदो and आदु are abl. sing. terminations for the bases ending in *a*. Words ending in *n*, optionally get *ā* (which is possibly a modification of the *svārthika* affix *ka* added to Sanskrit words) or the *amusvāra*, in voc. sing. भो कषुकिन्=कषुइआ; भो सुखिन्=सुहिआ; भो राजन्=रायं; भो विजयवर्मेन्=विजयवम्मं; but also भो तवस्ति; भो मनस्ति ॥ भवत् and भगवत् are changed to भवं and भगवं (also भयवं) in nom. sing. and voc. sing. Conjugational affixes: ति and ते are changed to दि and दे ॥ The future termination is स्ति and not हि, स्स or ह् as in Mahārāshṭrī. भविस्सिदि; पढिस्सिदि ॥ Note that भ is not modified in the root भू ॥ क्त्वा is changed to इय or दण ॥ भूत्वा=भविय; भोदण; also भोत्ता। पठित्वा=पडिय, पढिदण; also पढित्ता ॥ कृत्वा and गत्वा have the additional forms कडुअ and गडुअ respectively. इदानीं=दाणि ॥ तस्मात्=ता ॥ युक्तम् इदम्=जुत्तं शिमं, जुत्तमिणं। सदशम् इदम्=सरिसं शिमं, सरिसमिणं। किम् इदम्=किं रोदं, किमेदं। एवम् इदम्=एवं रोदं, एवमेदं ॥ एव=य्येव ॥ हजे used in addressing a *cheta* or maid-servant. हजे चदुरिके ॥ In the sense of surprise and disgust or despair—हीमाणहे ॥ नन्=णं ॥ In the sense of delight—अम्महे ॥ In the sense of a court-jester's delight—हीही ॥ इह=इह, इथ, होथ। परि-त्रायस्=परित्तायथ, परित्तायह ॥ पूर्व=पुव्वं, पुरवं ॥ For another early and detailed treatment of the Saurasenī Prakrit, see Appendix, pp. 106-09.

## APPENDIX

### PURUSHOTTAMADEVA'S PRAKRITANUSASANA

#### Chapters IX—XX

The Ms. of Purushottamadeva's *Prākṛitānusāsana* edited by L. Nitti-Dolohi (Paris, 1938) is dated in the year 385 of the Nepal era corresponding to 1265 A.D. This Purushottama seems to have been the same as the author of the *Bhāṣāḍvṛitti*, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Hārḍvali* and *Chhandomakhānta*, the first three of the works being referred to in Vandyaghaṭṭiya Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva* (commentary on the *Amarakośa*) composed in Śaka 1082=A.D. 1159. He probably lived in the 12th century in Bengal and was a contemporary of the Bengali authors Sarvānanda and Jayadeva (author of the *Gītagovinda*), and also of the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A.D.) of Gujārāt. The sections of the *Prākṛitānusāsana* quoted below are very important for the study of the minor Prakrit dialects. It is the earliest detailed treatment of the subject.

#### Chapter IX.—Sauraseni Bhāṣhā.

अथ शौरसेनी ॥१॥ संस्कृतानुगमाद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ शेषे महाराष्ट्री ॥३॥ खादौ(?) ॥४॥  
नाङ्गारादाविज्जालादयः ॥५॥ ईदृशादौ ॥६॥ तथा भावकर्मणोः शृणोत्यादेर्न सुव्वादयः ॥७॥  
तथा भुजादेस्तुतव्ययोर्न भोट(द)ादयः प्रायः ॥८॥ अयुजामनादौ तथपप(†) दधवभा  
बहुलमपताकाव्यापृतगवितेषु ॥९॥ यस्य घः ॥१०॥ पस्य वः ॥११॥ फस्य भः ॥१२॥  
भरते तो घः ॥१३॥ दधवयाः प्रकृत्या ॥१४॥ दधावस्पष्टमुच्चार्यौ ॥१५॥ अदितौ च  
यवत् ॥१६॥ ककारः प्रकृत्यामदनिकादेः ॥१७॥ रयङ्नन्यानां ऊओ वा ॥१८॥ ङस्य  
णश्च ॥१९॥ आर्यादौ न र्यस्य ऊजः ॥२०॥ क्षेतादिषु क्षस्य खः ॥२१॥ दराचतुर्दशयोः  
शस्य हो वा ॥२२॥ न ना(न्नि\*) हः ॥२३॥ अश्रुणि वाष्पस्य वप्फवाहौ ॥२४॥  
अपूर्वस्यावरुणं वा ॥२५॥ इदानीं दाणि पदान्ते ॥२६॥ इत्थी स्त्रियाः ॥२७॥ एवस्य व्येव  
॥२८॥ इवस्य विभ्रः ॥२९॥ आभ्यर्षस्याच्छरीभ्रं ॥३०॥ शतृणादिषु सत्तुद्ध(ह?)ादयः ॥३१॥  
तावकमामकादेः (?) ॥३२॥ नाम्नि(किं?)चिदादयः ॥३३॥ भागधेयं पुंसे(सि) च ॥३४॥ गोष्ठाः  
ङ्गीवे च ॥३५॥ सन्धिः संस्कृतबहुलम् ॥३६॥ पुनरप्यार्ये पुणवि पुणोवि ॥३७॥ क्तास्य-  
पोरिभ्रः ॥३८॥ कृत्वागत्वा कुरुभगदुभ्री ॥३९॥ त्वतलोर्दात्तयौ ॥४०॥ शिच आब

भावे ॥४३॥ क्सेदो दीर्घात् कचित् ॥४२॥ कारणान्तं(न्त)क्सेरात् ॥४३॥ हिन्तो  
 भ्यसः ॥४४॥ अदन्ताच्छसो हाय हायाश्च(?) ॥४५॥ केते(रेत्) ॥४६॥ का(इ)दुदन्तादी-  
 (हो) यो च जरशसोरेक(रन्त्य?)दीर्घश्च ॥४७॥ क्षियां जरशसोरोत् ॥४८॥ टाड्सङ्घिवेत् ॥४९॥  
 सर्वनाम्नश्च ॥५०॥ कियसङ्घो केर्हिस्तिस्थाः ॥५१॥ पुंसि टाड्सो(सां)सु इच्छवत् ॥५२॥  
 वध्यन्तस्य तद् क्षियां से च ॥५३॥ पदस्य ॥५४॥ इदमः सावयं ॥५५॥ अमि यं  
 च ॥५६॥ इमाणमामि ॥५७॥ अस्तिमिमस्तिश्च ङौ ॥५८॥ क्षियामियं सौ ॥५९॥  
 ङीवे स्वमोरिदमिमश्च ॥६०॥ एतद् एदाणमामे(मि) ॥६१॥ युष्मत् स्वमोस्तुम् ॥६२॥  
 ङौ तद् तए ॥६३॥ अस्मदोह(ऽह?)हं सौ ॥६४॥ शेषं तु महाराष्ट्रीलक्षणादित्युक्तमेव ॥६४क॥  
 धातोः परस्मैपदं प्रायः ॥६५॥ तिप्फिसिप्थमिप्मसां दिन्तिसिधमिन्हाः ॥६६॥ हिहस्ता  
 भविष्यति ॥६७॥ हकारे अत इद्वा ॥६८॥ स्तस्यात्वं मिपि ॥६९॥ संयोगे मिपो विन्नुष्य  
 ॥७०॥ विध्यादौ ति(प्\*)फिसिपां दु न्तु सु ॥७१॥ सिपो हिह ॥७२॥ लुक् चादन्तात् ॥७३॥  
 धातोस्तिवादावेदासौ बहुलम् ॥७४॥ यक् इअः ॥७५॥ इअ इज्ज च ॥७६॥ अतस्तव्यभविष्यत्-  
 स्तित् ॥७७॥ भवतेर्भोभवौ बहुलम् ॥७८॥ दाजो देः ॥७९॥ भविष्यति दइः ॥८०॥  
 तुंतव्ययोर्दा ॥८१॥ क्वायां दः ॥८२॥ यकि दीः ॥८३॥ कृषः करः ॥८४॥ तुंतव्ययोः  
 काः ॥८५॥ तिष्ठतेश्चिद्ः ॥८६॥ उत्तिष्ठतेरुत्थः ॥८७॥ ग्रहेर्गेरुहः ॥८८॥ यका सह  
 गेज्मघेप्पौ वा ॥८९॥ शकेः सकसक्कणौ ॥९०॥ एवं ब्रूच्योर्बुचः ॥९१॥ श्यणोत्यादेः  
 सुणादयः ॥९२॥ शेषं प्रयोगतः ॥९३॥

### Translation

1. "Now we speak of the Sauraseni dialect. 2. Often it differs from Mahārāshṭri, because it follows Sanskrit more closely. 3. Excepting the points indicated in the following Sūtras, Sauraseni follows Mahārāshṭri. 4. Regarding declension, we have the following rules. 5. *Aṅgāra*, etc., are not changed to *iṅgāla*, etc. 6. In *idriśa*, etc., *i* is not changed to *e* (?). 7. *Sripoti*, etc., are not changed to *suva*, etc., in the passive voice. 8. *Bhuj*, etc., are not usually changed to *bhoda*, etc., before the affixes *tumun* and *tavya*. 9. *T*, *th*, *y* and *ph*, when single and noninitial, are often changed to *d*, *dh*, *b* and *bh* respectively; but the rule does not apply to the words *patākā*, *vyāpṛita* and *garvita*. 10. *Th* is changed to *dh*. 11. *P* is changed to *b*. 12. *Ph* is changed to *bh*. 13. *T* is changed to *dh* in the word *bharata*. 14. *D*, *dh*, *v* and *y* are not changed, and remain as they are in Sanskrit. 15. *D* and *dh* are pronounced indistinctly. [*Dh* and *bh* are to be pronounced like *d* and *b* respectively according to Mārkaṇḍeya.]

16. *A* and *i* are pronounced like *y* (or, with a *y*?). 17. With the exception of (or, In?) the words, *madanikā*, etc., *k* is not changed. 18. *Ńy*, *jñ* and *ny* become *ññ* (Mārk. *jj*) optionally. 19. *Jñ* becomes *n* optionally. 20. In the words *ārya*, etc., *ry* is not changed to *jj* (but to *yy*?). 21. In the words, *kāṣṭha*, etc., *kṣ* is changed to *kh*. 22. *Ṣ* is changed to *h* optionally in the words *daśa* and *chaturdaśa*. 23. But *ṣ* of those words is not changed to *h* in a personal name. 24. The word *vāṣṭha* in the sense of "a tear" becomes *vappha* and *vāha*. 25. The word *apūrva* becomes *avarūvam* optionally (alternately *auvva*?). 26. The word *iddāntm* becomes *dānti*, when it is not at the beginning of a sentence. 27. The word *stri* is changed to *ittihī*. 28. *Eva* is changed to *vyeva*. 29. *Iva* is changed to *via*. 30. The word *ācharya* is changed to *achchhariam*. 31. The words *śatruḥna*, etc., are changed to *sattuḍḍha* (°ha? Mārk. °ggha, Rām. °ha), etc. 32. The words *tāvaka*, *māmaka*, etc., are [changed respectively to *tuhakera*, *mahakera*, etc.?] 33. The words *agnichit* (*akimchit*?), etc., are not changed(?). 34. The word *bhāgadhēya* is masculine optionally. 35. The word *gona* is neuter optionally. 36. Sandhi is generally as in Sanskrit. 37. *Punavi* and *punovi* are used in the sense of *punar=api*. 38. *Ia* is used in place of the absolutive affixes *ktvā* and *lyap*. 39. But *kṛtvā=kadua*; *gatvā=gadua*. 40. *Tva*, *tal=dā*, *ttana*. 41. *Āva* and *āve* are used in the place of *nich*, the suffix of the causative. 42. *Do* is used for the case-affix *naṣ* (abl. sing.); but sometimes *ā* is also used after words ending in *a*. 43. But *kāraṇāt* becomes *kāraṇā* compulsorily. 44. *Hinto* is used for the case-affix *bhyas* (abl. plu.). 45. After words ending in *a*, *śas* (acc. plu.) is substituted by *hāna* and *hānam* (?). 46. *E* is used for the case-affix *ni* (loc. sing.) after words of the *a*-stem. 47. *O* and *no* are substituted for the case-affixes *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) after words ending in *i* and *u*, and the final vowel of the words is optionally lengthened (?). 48. *Jaś* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) are substituted by *o* after words of the feminine gender. 49. In words of the feminine gender, *tā*, (inst. sing.), *śas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.) are substituted by *e*. 50. *E* is also used for the above case-affixes in the pronouns. 51. *Ńi* (loc. sing.) is substituted by *hi*, *si* and *ttha* after the pronouns *kim*, *yad* and *tad*. 52. These pronouns are declined like the word *vriksa* when followed by *tā* (inst. sing.), *śas* (gen. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). 53. *Tad*, followed by the sixth case-affix, is substituted by *se* in the feminine gender. [Nitti-Dolchi: the sixth case-affix after *tad*, masc. and neut.] 54. The following rules speak of substitutes for pronouns together with case-affixes. 55. *Ayam* is substituted for *īdam* (masc.) + *su* (nom. sing.). 56. *Ńam* (alternately *enam*?) is substituted for *īdam* + *am* (acc. sing.) optionally. 57. *Imāṇam* is substituted for *īdam* + *ām* (gen. plu.). 58. *Assim* and *imassim* are

optionally(?) substituted for *idam* + *nī* (loc. sing.). 59. *Iyaṇ* is substituted for *idam* (fem.) + *su* (nom. sing.). 60. *Idaṇ* and *imaṇ* are substituted for *idam* (neut.) + *su* (nom. sing.) and *idam* (neut.) + *am* (acc. sing.). 61. *Eḍḍaṇ* is compulsorily substituted for *etad* + *am* (gen. plu.). 62. *Tumam* is substituted for *yushmad* + *su* (nom. sing.) and *yushmad* + *am* (acc. sing.). 63. *Taḥ* and *tae* are substituted for *yushmad* + *nī* (loc. sing.). 64. *Ahaṇ* and *haṇ* (?) are substituted for *asmad* + *su* (nom. sing.). 64a. The rest is as in *Mahārāshṭri* and has already been treated before. [This seems to be a commentator's remark.] 65. Verbs are generally used in the *parasmaipada* (active). 66. *ṭip* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. present), *ḡhī* (= *anti*, 3rd pers. plu. present), *sip* (2nd pers. sing. present), *iha* (2nd pers. plu. present), *mīp* (1st pers. sing. pres.) and *mas* (1st pers. plu. present) are respectively substituted by *di*, *nti*, *sī*, *dha*, *mī* and *mha*. 70. *Hī*, *ha* and *ssa* are used before the above conjugational affixes to indicate the future tense. 68. Before *ha* (and *hī*?) the final *a* of a verb may be changed to *i* (alternately to *e*). 69. Before *mīp* (1st pers. sing.) *ssa* indicative of futuro is changed to *ssā* (may be changed to *sse* ?). 70. *Ssam* may be substituted for *ssa* + *mīp* (1st pers. sing. future). 71. *Du*, *ntu* and *su* are respectively substituted for *ṭip* (3rd pers. sing.), *ḡhī* (= *anti*, 3rd pers. plu.) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood. 72. *Hī* is optionally substituted for *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood. 73. The conjugational affix of 2nd pers. sing. is optionally elided after verbs ending in *a* in the imperative mood. 74. Before *ṭip* etc. (i.e. before all the conjugational affixes) verbs may variously take *e* and *ā* as a stematic vowel. 75. *Yak*, the suffix of the passive voice, is substituted by *ia*. 76. This *ia* is optionally changed to *īṇa*. 77. Before *tavya* (also *tumun* ?) and in the future tense, the final *a* of a verb is changed to *i*. 78. The root *bhū* generally becomes *bho* and *bhava*. 79. *Dā* becomes *da* before conjugational affixes. 80. *Dā* becomes *dai* before the conjugational suffix of the future. 81. *Dā* remains unchanged before *tumun* and *tavya*. 82. *Dā* becomes *da* before *ktvā*. 83. Before *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *dā* is changed to *dī*. 84. *Kṛī* is changed to *kara* before conjugational affixes. 85. *Kṛī* is changed to *kā* before *tumun* and *tavya*. 86. *Sthā* is changed to *chīṣṭha*. 87. *Sthā*, preceded by *ut*, is changed to *uttha*. 88. *Grah* is changed to *geṇha*. 89. With *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *grah* is changed to *geṇha* and *gheppa* optionally. 90. *Sak* is changed to *sakka* and *sakkaṇa* (Mārk. *sakkuna*). 91. Similarly, *brū* and *vach* are changed to *vuchcha*. 92. *Sru*, etc., are changed to *suna*, etc. 39. The rest is in accordance with usage.



Chapter X.—*Prāchyā Bhāṣā*.

अथ प्रच्या ॥१॥ भवतः सौ भवं ॥२॥ भवत्यः भोदी ॥३॥ दुहितरि धीदा ॥४॥  
हीनसम्बुद्धावरे ॥५॥ इणं वेदमर्थे ॥६॥ वक्त्रे वहुड(ड?)अ ॥७॥ अवहतोऽप्रकृते ॥८॥  
होक्खमाणो भविष्यति ॥९॥ एवार्ये प्येवविअचेआः ॥१०॥ आरे सम्बुद्धपेक्षयोः ॥११॥  
अविद अवे(वि?)द निर्वेदे ॥१२॥ लोकोक्तयो र्व(व?)हुलम् ॥१३॥ शेषे शौरसेनी ॥१४॥

## Translation

1. Now we speak of the *Prāchyā* dialect. 2. The word *bhavat+su* (nom. sing.) becomes *bhavam*. 3. *Bhavatī* becomes *bhodi*. 4. *Duhitā* becomes *dhidā*. 4. *Are* (ā according to Nitti-Dolchi) is used in addressing a person of inferior rank. 6. *Ṇam* is optionally used in the sense of *idam*. 7. *Vakra* is optionally substituted by *vaṅkuṭa* (*vaṅkuḍa*?) 8. *Avahatu* is substituted for *aprakṛita*. 9. The word *bhaviṣyat* is substituted by *hokkhamāṇa*. 10. *Ēva* is substituted by *pyeva*, *chia* and *chea*. [*Mārkaṇḍeya* · *jja*, *jja*.] 11. *Āre* is used to indicate address and indifference. 12. *Avida* and *aveda* (*avida avida* according to Nitti-Dolchi) are used to indicate disgust or despair. 13. Expressions prevalent among the people are often used 14. The rest (i.e. what is unspecified) of *Prāchyā* is as in *Sauraseni*.

Chapter XI.—*Āvantī Bhāṣā*

अथावन्ती ॥१॥ महाराष्ट्रीशौरसेन्योरैक्यम् ॥१क॥ दे(ले?) रेफलोपो वा ॥२॥ इ(त?)-  
कारो बहुलं खरशेषः ॥३॥ ति(त)तिपोज्ज्ज्जा भवति भवता(वर्तमाने?) भविष्यति तिचार्ये  
(विध्यर्थे?) ॥४॥ धातुतिढोर्मध्ये च ॥५॥ शृणोत्यादेर्यका सह छुव्वादयः ॥६॥ भविष्यत्-  
काले शृणोत्यादेर्मिपा सोच्छ[मादय\*]अ ॥७॥ भुवो हो होइ(अ?) ॥८॥ विशेषतोऽनन्तरं  
वक्ष्यते तद्यथा ॥९॥ तवममयोस्तुदु महु च ॥१०॥

## Translation

1. Now we speak of the *Āvantī* dialect 1a. It is an admixture (P) of *Mahārāṣṭrī* and *Sauraseni*. 2. In the word *tre*(P), the elision of *r* is optional. 3. *T* (P) is generally represented by the inherent vowel, but is not always elided. 4. In the present and future tenses (P) and in the imperative mood(P), *jja* and *jja* are used for the proper conjugational suffixes (P). 5. *Jja* and *jja* are also used between the verb and the conjugational suffix. 6. With *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *śru*, etc., become *suva*, etc. 7. In the future

tense *śru+mip* (1st pers. sing.), etc., become *śacchāḥaṇ*, etc. - 8. The root *bhā* is changed to *ho* and *hoi* (*hoā?*). - 9. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has wrongly crept into the text.] 10. *Tava* becomes *tuddhu* (*tuhū?*) and *maṇa* becomes *mahu* optionally.

### Chapter XII.—*Māgadhi Bhāṣā*.

अथ मागधी ॥१॥ शौरसेनीतः प्रायः ॥१॥ सर्वत्र सवोः शः ॥२॥ षः प्रकृत्या कचित् ॥३॥ रो लः ॥४॥ जम्भोर्यग्नौ ॥५॥ क्सस्य रकः ॥६॥ न क्लोः ॥७॥ स्यस्य संयोगवैपरीत्यञ्च ॥८॥ त्यद्रयोः रतप्तौ ॥९॥ तद्योः क्वचित् ॥१०॥ च्छस्य धः ॥११॥ धस्य ल(ह?) क्वचित् ॥१२॥ चुः स्पष्टतालव्यः ॥१३॥ निषेधबाहुल्यञ्च ॥१४॥ क्लो दाणिञ्च ॥१५॥ क्वचिदित् ॥१६॥ कनि दीर्घः ॥१७॥ उदवापयोः ॥१८॥ अधुनार्थे-ऽङ्गुणि ॥१९॥ वसतौ वसधी ॥२०॥ पुरि(रु)वे पुलिशः ॥२१॥ कोष्णादीनां कोशिनादयः ॥२२॥ ही विस्मयोपहासकुशलेषु ॥२३॥ लेले अले चाक्षेपसम्माषणयोः ॥२४॥ अदन्तसोरिदेतौ पुंसि ॥२५॥ लुक् च च्छन्दोवशात् ॥२६॥ हसे(सो?) हेत्वच्चा(हो वा प्राग्?)दीर्घ-श्चातः ॥२७॥ पत्ने हसः स्स ए च ॥२८॥ सम्बुदे(दे)रेदोतौ ॥२९॥ आद्राक्षेपे ॥३०॥ अहमर्थे हके हगे हुञ्च ॥३१॥ युष्मानित्यर्थे तुम्हञ्च ॥३२॥ तिष्ठतेचिद् ॥३३॥ वृत्ते(वे)-र्व्वशञ्च(श्च) ॥३४॥ लुटि भुवो हुवञ्च ॥३५॥ कृतेः कप्पः ॥३६॥ कृमृगमां कमगाः कृत्य डत्वञ्च वा ॥३७॥ बोच(च्य)ते [ङ?]लोपञ्च ॥३८॥

### Translation

1. Now we speak of the Māgadhi dialect. 1a. It takes its forms usually from the Sauraseni dialect. 2. *S* and *sh* are always substituted by *ś*. 3. In a few cases *sh* is not changed. 4. *R* is substituted by *l*. 5. *J* and *jh* are respectively substituted by *y* and *yh*. 6. Sauraseni *kkh* (=Sans *ksh*) is substituted by *śk*. 7. *Kkhu* (=Sans *khalu*) is not changed. 8. *Ksh* may also be changed to *śk* (=śhk). 9. The Sauraseni conjuncts *tth* and *ffh* are respectively changed to *śt* [M. *śth*, *śch*] and *śht* [M, R. *śfh*]. 10. Sometimes Sauraseni *tt* and *ff* are respectively changed to *śt* and *śht* [M., R. *śf*]. 11. Sauraseni *chch* is changed to *śch*. 12. *Dh* is sometimes changed to *l* (*h?*). [Markandeya enjoins the substitution of non-initial *dh* by *h*.] 13. The pronunciation of *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* is perfectly palatal (i.e., not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāṣṭri and Sauraseni). 14. There are also violations of this rule (i.e., the letters of the *cha-varga* are sometimes elided or are pronounced as dento-palatals). 15. The absolutive suffix *ktvā* is optionally substituted by *dāni* (alternately by Saur. *ia*). 16. Sometimes

*ktvā* is substituted by *i*. 17. Before the *svārthika* affix *ka*, the final vowel of a word may be long. 18. *U* is substituted for *ava* and *apa*. 19. *Ahuṛi* is used in the sense of *adhunā*. 20. The word *vasatī* becomes *vasadhī*. 21. *Puruṣa* becomes *pulīsa*. 22. The words *koshṇa*, etc., become *koṣṇa*, etc. 23. *Hī* is used to indicate *vismaya* (surprise and uncertainty), *upahāsa* (ridicule) and *kusāla* (happiness). 24. *Lele* and *ale* are used to indicate *ākṣhepa* (reproach) and *sambhāṣhaṇa* (address). 25. *I* and *e* are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) after masculine words ending in *a*. 26. *Su* (nom. sing.) is sometimes elided for the sake of the metre. 27. *Nās* (gen. sing.) is optionally substituted by *ha* after words ending in *a* and the *a* becomes *ā* (?). 28. Alternately, *nās* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *śa* (i.e. *śā*, after masc. words) and *e* (after fem. words). 29. *E* and *o* are used as the terminations of the vocative. 30. *Ā* is used as the termination of the vocative to indicate *ākṣhepa* or reproach. 31. *Hake*, *hage* and *huṇ* are substituted for the word *aham*. 32. The word *yushmān* (with acc. plu.) is substituted by *tumham* optionally alternately by *tumhc*. 33. *Sthā* is changed to *chīṭṭha*. 34. *Vriṣh* is changed to *vaśśa*. 35. *Bhū* is changed to *huva* before the affixes of the future tense. 36. The root *krit* is changed to *kappa*. 37. *Kri*, *mri* and *gam* are changed respectively to *ka*, *ma* and *ga* and after them the participial affix *kta* is changed to *da* optionally (alternately to *da* ?). 38. The *ḍa* (?) is sometimes elided as indicated by the word *vā* in the previous Sūtra. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has somehow crept into the text.]

### Chapter XIII.—*Śākārī Vibhāṣā*.

अथ शाकरी विभाषा ॥१॥ विशेषो मागध्याः ॥१क॥ दुष्प्रेक्षसदृशयोः क्षस्य क्वो वा ॥२॥ छः रटः ॥३॥ (न?) विष्टरस्य ॥४॥ तथः प्रकृत्या च ॥५॥ श्याले शिन्नालः ॥६॥ हृदयस्य हितकञ्च ॥७॥ इवस्य व्वध ॥८॥ कबाहुल्यम् ॥९॥ लोपागमविकार(१\*)श्च वर्णानां बहुलम् ॥१०॥ व्यत्ययश्च सुप्तिङ्स्वराणाम् ॥११॥ स्वादेल्कु च ॥१२॥ संयोगे गुरुत्वं वा ॥१३॥

अपार्थमक्रमं व्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं हतोपमम् ।

न्यायकार्यादिबाह्यश्च शाकारवचनं भवेत् ॥१४॥

यच्चोहि ( यवच्चुः ?) शाकारभाषायाम् ॥१५॥

### Translation

Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called *Śākārī*. 1a. It is a particular variety of the *Māgadhi* dialect. 2. *Kṣh* is optionally substituted by

*kkh* in the words *dushpreksha* and *sadrīksha* (alternately, *Mark.* and *Rām. śch*; *Nitti-Doleli śk*). 3. *Ṣṭa* is substituted for *shṭ*. 4. The conjunct *shṭ* in the word *vishṭava* is [not changed to *śṭ*?] 5. The *Mahārāshṭrī* conjunct *tṭh* optionally remains unchanged (alternately *tta* as in *Māg.*). 6. *Siḍa* is substituted for *śyḍa*. 7. *Hridaya* is optionally substituted by *hitaka*. [*Rām. haḍakka*.] 8. *Iva* is optionally substituted by *vva* (alternately, *vva*). 9. The suffix *ka* is often added to a word without changing the meaning. 10. Often there are elision, augmentation and substitution of letters. 11. There is also confusion or interchange of the vowels of conjugational as well as declensional terminations. 12. The declensional terminations are sometimes elided. 13. The vowel before a conjunct is optionally long. 14. The *Sākārī* subdialect is devoid of good sense, disorderly, contradictory, full of repetitions and false similes, and opposed to propriety and good conduct. 15. *Y* is to be written above the letters of the *cha-varga* (P) in the *Sākārī* subdialect.

#### Chapter XIV.—*Chāṇḍālī Vibhāṣā.*

अथ चाण्डाली ॥१॥ मागधीविकृतिः ॥१॥ अतः सो(सा)बोदेती ॥२॥ ऋसः  
रशः ॥३॥ म्मिश्च ढेः ॥४॥ टः प्रकृत्या वा ॥५॥ वः खरशेषश्च ॥६॥ इवस्य वच(ध ?)  
॥७॥ क्ल इय(अ?): ॥८॥ ग्राम्योक्तयो र्बे(ब)हुलम् ॥९॥

#### Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called *Chāṇḍālī*. 1a. It is a corrupt form of the *Māgadhi* dialect. 2. *Su* (nom. sing.) is substituted by *o* and *e* after words ending in *a*. 3. *Nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *tta* [and not alternatively by *āha* as in *Māgadhi*]. 4. *Ni* (loc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *mm* (alternately by *e*). 5. The conjunct *tṭa* sometimes remains unchanged (i.e., is not changed to *shṭ* as in *Māg.*). 6. *Va* is sometimes, but not always, elided. 7. *Iva* is optionally substituted by *va* (alternately by *vva*). 8. The absolutive suffix *ktvā* is substituted by *ya* (*Rām. ya*). 9. Vulgar expressions are largely employed in the *Chāṇḍālī* subdialect.

#### Chapter XV.—*Śābarī Vibhāṣā.*

शाबरी च मागधीविशेषः ॥१॥ च(र?): प्रकृत्या ॥१॥ पेक्कस्य धः ॥२॥  
अहमर्थे हके हक् ॥३॥ केसिटि(एदितौ) सौ च ॥४॥ सोलुक् च ॥५॥ का सम्बुद्धे-  
नि(र्नि)त्यमगौरवे ॥६॥ प्रायो देरीतः ॥७॥

## Translation

1. The subdialect called Sābarī is another variety of the Māgadhi dialect. [According to Rām., it is the language of charcoal-burners, hunters, boatmen and wood-cutters] 1a The consonant *ch* ( ? r ? ) remains unchanged. 2. In *pekkha* (= *preksh*), *kkh* is changed to *sch* (and not to *śka*). 3. *Hake* (Rām. *hagā*) and *ham* (or, *aham*) are substituted for *aham*. 4. *Ē* and *ɪ* (P) are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) optionally alternately *o* (P). 5. The termination *su* is optionally elided. 6. *Kā* (āP) is always used in the vocative to indicate disrespect. 7. Expressions are often taken from the provincial speech.

Chapter XVI.—*Ṭakkadeśiyā Vibhāṣā*.

अथ टक्कदेशीया विभाषा ॥१॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योः ॥१॥ उद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ एष दान्तस्य ॥३॥ सु(भ्य)सो ह' हुष ॥४॥ आमो वा ॥५॥ वा (सर्वादिषु च?) ॥६॥ त्वं(त्वम)-हंसमायेषु तुक्त हंसं ॥७॥ यथातथोर्जिधतिधौ ॥८॥ शेष' प्रयोगात् ॥९॥ हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्विमां टक्कभाषामपभ्रंस(श)मिच्छति न प्राकृतम् ॥१०॥

## Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called *Takkadeśiyā* [spoken by gamblers and other knaves according to Rām.] 1a It is an admixture of Sanskrit and the Sauraseni dialect. 2. The termination *u* is largely employed : alternately *a*. 3. *Ēm* optionally substitutes the declensional termination of the instrumental singular after the *a*-stem words alternately *ena*. 4. *Ham* and *hum* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl plu) alternately *hinto*(P). 5. *Ham* and *hum* are optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). 6. *Ham* and *hum* may also be employed in the pronouns (P). 7. Words of the same import as *tvam* and *aham* are respectively substituted by *tuṅga* and *hamam* (P) optionally. [Mārka. *tvam*=*tunga*; *aham*=*ammi*, *hum*, *mamam*; *mama*=*mahum*. Rām *tvam*=*tuhum*; *aham*=*hamu*, *mama*=*maham*.] 8. *Yathā* and *tathā* are respectively substituted by *ṛidha* and *ṭidha* optionally (P) alternately *ṛahā* and *ṭahā* (P), *ṛidham* and *ṭidham* (P). 9. The rest depends on usage. 10. According to the grammarian Hariścandra, this *Ṭakkadeśiyā* subdialect is an *Apabhramśa* and is not an ordinary Prakrit dialect. [According to Hari., *Apabhr.* could be employed in dramas.]

Chapter XVII.—*Nāgaraka Apabhramśa*.

अथातोऽपभ्रंशानुशासनम् ॥१॥ तत्र नागरकः ॥१॥ शषोः सः ॥२॥ यस्य जः ॥३॥ नो यः ॥४॥ कगादेः स्वरशेषता ॥५॥ पो बः ॥६॥ हो(फो) भः ॥७॥ लघयर्भा हः ॥८॥

प्रकटादावादेरात्वं वा ॥६॥ एधादेः श्रुतः इत्वम् ॥१०॥ ओदीतः ॥११॥ अलः पौरुषादिषु ॥१२॥ अनादावयुजं(जां) कसतथा गन्धश्वा वा ॥१३॥ व्यासादीनामादेरर्थो(धो) रः ॥१४॥ रश्रुतौ प्रकृत्या च ॥१५॥ गुरुलाघवं च्छन्दोवशात् ॥१६॥ अज्जलौ च बहुलम् ॥१७॥ अदन्ता शंभा(जशशश ?)यो डा ॥१८॥ क्रियां ङिः ॥१९॥ दुश्च ॥२०॥ व्यत्यये(यो) लिङ्गानाम् ॥२१॥ कयामोर्हस्वश्च ॥२२॥ यावत्तावतोर्जिमतमौ ॥२३॥ भूतइत्यर्थे भूहः ॥२४॥ कइ-किं प्रदि-किं प्रदु-किं प्रु-कि(की)राः पञ्चामी (पञ्च?) किमर्थे ॥२५॥ इवार्ये ण गइ ग्यावइ गहं जिम जणि ॥२६॥ जइ पादपूरणे ॥२७॥ खेदे वइः ॥२८॥ खञ्जन्दादौ छञ्जन्दादयः ॥२९॥ तदीयमदीययोस्तुम्भाराम्भारौ ॥३०॥ वदादयो देश्याम् ॥३१॥ एविएवेपिएवेप्येवयः कूः ॥३२॥ इदिऔ च ॥३३॥ प्पिप्पिण्वो च ऋवः ॥३४॥ भू-गमि-कृणां भो-गं-करा विभाषा ॥३५॥ (तुम?) एद गहुं णं गहिं एप्पि एप्पिणु एवयः(एवि) ॥३६॥ इअव्वस्तव्यः ॥३७॥ इएव्वलं एव्वउच्च ङ्गीवे ॥३८॥ तणुप्पणुदास्त्वतलोः ॥३९॥ उल्लः कन्नर्थे ॥४०॥ अतः खमोरुत्वञ्च ॥४१॥ क्रियां जशशसोरुत्वञ्च ॥४२॥ भिस्सुपोहिं ॥४३॥ हे हो च डसेः ॥४४॥ हं हुं चामः ॥४५॥ अदन्तात् टाभिसुडसुडिडु(डु) प्राकृतवच्च ॥४६॥ ईदुङ्गयां ट एणश्च ॥४७॥ भिस एहिश्च ॥४८॥ क्रियामेच्च टः ॥४९॥ हें (हे?) च डसः ॥५०॥ सम्बोधनबहुत्वे हो ॥५१॥ किं यत्तदां प्रथमाद्वितीयासप्तमीषु प्राकृतवत् ॥५२॥ टादौ तु पुं ङ्गीवयोः ॥५३॥ डसः सुस्तत्त दीर्घो वा ॥५४॥ यत्तदोरमि ज्ञं लुञ्च ॥५५॥ डसुडयोर्जलु तलु च ॥५६॥ खमो-रिदम इमुं न शश(शश)योः ॥५७॥ एमु च ङ्गीवे ॥५८॥ अन्यदेमः ॥५९॥ एतद एहः ॥६०॥ खमोरेहु एहो च ॥६१॥ यत्तदेतदां सौ जे से ए ॥६२॥ युष्मदः सौ तुहं ॥६३॥ जशशसोस्तुम्हाइ ॥६४॥ भिसि तुम्हेहिं ॥६५॥ अस्मदः अमटाडिषु मइ ॥६६॥ महमहुं-मज्जकवो डसि ॥६७॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसन्धौ बहुलमज्जलोपः ॥६८॥ तुमप्रत्यये च (?) ॥६९॥ धातवः परस्मैपदे(दि)नः ॥७०॥ तिपस्तो दश्च मसो हुं च ॥७१॥ विध्यादौ सिप इदुद्धिकाराश्च यस्य हुश्च ॥७२॥ इहिलिं(हृ)टि ॥७३॥ इसश्च ॥७४॥ मसि कृञः कासः ॥७५॥ लैकात्ये शतृ ॥७६॥ तिष्ठतेस्त्वक्श्च ॥७७॥ तिमेस्तिम्ब(म्भ?)श्च ॥७८॥ दशेः प्रस्तदेक्खौ च ॥७९॥ स्थाप-यतेष्ठवः ॥८०॥ आरुषेराकण्ड(एण?)ः ॥८१॥ आचक्खे(क्खे)रक्खः ॥८२॥ आनुवस्येड (आयातेरदूरत्वेन?) आवः ॥८३॥ वजेर्वज्जः ॥८४॥ कृञः करः ॥८५॥ प्रहेर्यहः ॥८६॥ वदे-बोङ्गः ॥८७॥ मुचेमुक्क-मेक्क-म(मु?)आः ॥८८॥ वरे(वे?)श्चवः ॥८९॥ शेषं शिष्टप्रयोगात् ॥९०॥

## Translation

1. The following are the rules regarding the Apabhramśa dialects.
- 1a. Among these there is one called Nāgaraka whose characteristics

are specified below. 2. *Ṣ* is substituted for *ś* and *śh*. 3. *J* is substituted for *y*. 4. *N* is substituted by *ṇ*. 5. *K*, *g*, etc. (intervocal *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p* and *b*, together with *y* and *v*?) are represented by the inherent vowels. 6. *B* is substituted for *p*. 7. *Bh* is substituted for *ph*. 8. *H* is substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th* and *bh*. 9. In the words *prakāṣa*, etc., the first *a* is optionally lengthened. 10. In the words *grādhra*, etc., *i* is substituted for *ri*. 11. *Au* is substituted by *o*. 12. In the words *pauruṣa*, etc., *au* is substituted by *āu*. 13. *K*, *kh*, *t* and *th*, when simple and intervocalic, are optionally changed to *g*, *gh*, *d* and *dh* respectively. 14. In the words *vyāsa*, etc., *r* is used with the first consonant (i.e. in the place of *y*). 15. After consonants *r* and *ri* sometimes remain unchanged. 16. A long vowel may be short according to the needs of the metre. 17. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the vowels and consonants. 18. The suffix *ḍā* is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc. plu. masc; also *jas* or nom. plu.?) and *śi* (nom. and acc. plu. neut.) after words ending in *a*. 19. *Ḍi* (or, *ḍi*?) is substituted for the nom. and acc. plu. affixes (?) after words of the feminine gender. 20. *Du* is also used for the above case-affixes (in all the genders?). 21. There is confusion of genders. 22. The final vowel of words may be short before *āi* (loc. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). 23. *Jima* is used for *yāvat* and *tama* (*tima*)? for *tāvat*. 24. *Bhūha* is used in the sense of *bhūta*. 25. *Kaī*, *kimpradi*, *kimpradu*, *kimpru* and *kīra* are the five words used in the sense of *kim*. 26. *Na*, *ṇaī*, *nāvaī*, *ṇaham*, *jima* and *janu* are used in the sense of *iva*. 27. *Jatm* is used as an expletive particle. 28. *Vaī* is used to express distress. 29. *Svachchhanda*, etc., are substituted by *chhachchhanda*, etc. 30. *Tadiya* is substituted by *tumbhāra* and *madīya* by *ambhāra*. 31. *Vada*, etc., are words (?) used in the Deśī or provincial dialect. 32. *Evīnu*, *epīnu*, *epī* and *evi* are substituted for *ktvā* and *lyap*. 33. *I* and *ia* are also substituted for *ktvā* and *lyap*. 34. *Ppī* and *ppīṇu* are substituted for *ktvā* after the root *brū* and the vowel *ū* is changed to *o*. 35. *Bhū*, *gam* and *kri* respectively become *bho*, *gam* and *kara* optionally before the absolutive suffixes *ppī* and *ppīnu*. 36. The suffix *tumun* (?) is substituted by *eda*, *ṇahum*, *nam* and *nahim* together with the absolutives *eppi*, *eppiṇu* and *evi*. [Hem. *evam*, *ana*, *anaham*, *aṇahim* and *eppi*, *eppiṇu*, *evi*, *evīnu*] 37. *Tavya* is substituted by *iavva*. 38. *Tavya* is substituted by *ievvaṁ* and *evvaṁ* in the neuter gender. 39. The suffixes *tva* and *tā* are substituted by *ttaṇu*, *ppaṇu* and *dā*. 40. *Ulla* is used in the sense of the affix *ka* added to a word without changing its meaning. 41. Before *su* (nom. sing.) and *am* (acc. sing.), the final *a* of a word is optionally changed to *u*. 42. In words of the feminine gender, *u* is also substituted for the final *a* before *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas*

(acc. plu.). 43. *Bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc. plu.) are substituted by *hiṃ*. 44. *He* and *ho* are substituted for *hasi* (abl. sing.). 45. *Ham* and *hum* are substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). 46. Words ending in *a* remain optionally the same as in Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭrī, the principal Prakrit), before *ḥā* (inst. sing.), *bhis* (inst. plu.), *has* (gen. sing.) and *hi* (loc. sing.) [According to Nitti-Dolchi, this rule provides for such forms as *rukḥhehiṃ* and *rukḥahiṃ* for inst. plu. of the word *vrkṣha*.] 47. *Tā* (inst. sing.) is also substituted by *ēṇa* before words ending in *i* and *u* alternately by *vā*. 48. *Ehiṃ* is also substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *i* and *u*, alternately *hiṃ*. 49. *Tā* (inst. sing.) is also substituted by *e* after words of the feminine gender. 50. *Hem* (he?) is optionally substituted for *has* (gen. sing.) after words of the feminine gender. 51. *Ho* is used as the termination of voc. plu. (after both masc. and fem. nouns). 52. *Kim*, *yad* and *tad* are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī) in nom., acc. and loc. 53. The three pronouns are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī) with *ḥā* (inst. sing.) only in the masc. and neut. 54. After the above pronouns *nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *su* and the preceding vowel is optionally long. Ex. *kāsu*, etc. 55. *Yad+am* (acc. sing.) becomes *ṛam* and *tad+am* (acc. sing.) becomes *trum*. 56. *Yad+has* (gen. sing.) and *yad+hi* (loc. sing.) become *ṛatru*, and *tad+nas* (gen. sing.) and *tad+hi* (loc. sing.) become *taṭru* optionally alternately *ṛahim*, *ṛassim*, *ṛammī*, *ṛattha*, *ṛāḥ*, *ṛāhe*, *ṛassa*, *ṛāsa*. 57. *Idam+su* and *idam+am* become *imūm*. *Idam+sas* (acc. plu., also *idam+ṛas* or nom. plu.?) and *idam+hi* (nom. and acc. plu. neut.) do not become *imūna* (?). 58. *Idam* with the terminations of the nom. and acc. plu. neut. also becomes *emu*. 59. Otherwise *idam* before case-affixes is substituted by *ima*. 60. *Eha* is substituted for *etad*. 61. *Etad+su* (nom. sing.) and *etad+am* (acc. sing.) also become *ehu* and *eho* alternately *eha*. 62. *Yad+su* (nom. sing.)=*je*, *tad+su*=*se*; *etad+su*=*e*. 63. *Yushmad+su*=*tūham*. 64. *Yushmad+ṛas* (nom. plu.), *yushmad+ḥas* (acc. plu.)=*tumḥāim*. 65. *Yushmad+bhis* (inst. plu.)=*tumḥehim*. 66. *Asmad* followed by *am* (acc. sing.), *ḥā* (inst. sing.) and *hi* (loc. sing.) is substituted by *maḥ*. 67. *Asmad+has* (gen. sing.)=*maha*, *mahum* and *maḥḥu*. 68. In the combination of the stems and the suffixes, vowels are often elided. 69. [The meaning of the Sūtra is not clear.] 70. The roots are always in the active (*parasmaipadī*). 71. The *t* of *tīp* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. pres.) optionally becomes *d*, and *mas* (1st pers. plu.) is optionally substituted by *hum*. Ex. *vaffadī*, *vaffahum*. 72. In the imperative mood, etc., *i*, *u* and *hi* are substituted for *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) and *hu* is optionally substituted for *tha* (2nd pers. plu.) 73. *Ihi* is used (before the conjugational suffix of the



present) in the future tense. Ex. *karīhidi*. 74. *Isa* is also used (before the conjugational suffix of the present) in the future tense 75. Before *mas* (1st. pers. plu.) the root *kri* is changed to *kāsa*. 76. *Satṛi* (=ant) is used in the past, present and future tenses. 77. *Sthā* is changed to *thakka*. 78. The root *tim* is substituted by *timbu* (*timma*?). 79. *Driś* is substituted by *grassa* and *dekkha*. 80. *Sthāpi* is substituted by *phava*. 81. *Ā-rush* (Mark. *ā-shish*) is substituted by *ārunna*. 82. *Ā-chaksh* is substituted by *akkha* (Mārk *chakka*). 83. *Ā-yā* is changed to *āva* to indicate coming from a short distance (?). 84. *Vraḥ* becomes *vañña*. 85. *Kṛi* becomes *kara*. 86. *Grah* becomes *griṇha*. 87. *Vad* becomes *bollu*. 88. *Much* becomes *mukha*, *mella* and *muu*. 89. *Vach* becomes *chava*. 90. The rest is in accordance with the usage of the cultured people.

### Chapter XVIII.—*Vṛāchada and Other*

#### *Apabhramśas and Vibhāṣhās.*

अथ वाचकम्(कः) ॥१॥ वसोः शः ॥२॥ रश्चतौ प्रकृत्या धृत्यवर्जम् ॥३॥ चवर्गः स्पष्ट-  
तालव्यः ॥४॥ तथो वास्पष्टौ ॥५॥ पदादी तडयोः टदो च ॥६॥ खन्न(एङ्)स्य खण्डुः ॥७॥  
जे जिज खे(वे)वस्य ॥८॥ भवतो(ते)भोऽप्रादौ ॥९॥ ह्ने श्रु(भू): ॥१०॥ व्रजेर्वजः(\*) ॥११॥  
वृषेर्वहः ॥१२॥ शेषं प्रयोगात् ॥१३॥ अथोपनागरकम्(कः) ॥१४॥ द्वयोः साङ्ख्यात् ॥१५॥  
सूक्ष्मान्ध(न्त)रास्तु पाश्चात्तादयो लोक(त\*): ॥१६॥ क्य (?) ॥१७॥ उल्लप्राया वैदर्भी ॥१८॥  
सम्बोधन(शब्द\*)उठया लाटी ॥१९॥ इकारौकारप्रायी लट्टी (०प्रायीङ्?) ॥२०॥ सवी-  
प्ताप्रायी(या!) कैकेयी ॥२१॥ श्रुसमा(बहुसमासा!) गौडी ॥२२॥ एवं ठक्-वक्कर-कुन्तल-  
पाण्डि(एङ्)-सिंघ(ह)लादिभाषा उभेया(:\*) ॥२३॥

#### Translation

1. Now we speak of the *Vṛāchada* variety of *Apabhramśa*. 2. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *s*. 3. With the exception of the word *bhūtiya*, *ru* and *ri* do not suffer any modification. 4. Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in *Mahāśāṣṭṛi* and *Saurasenī*). 5. *T* and *dh* are not pronounced distinctly. 6. Initial *t* and *d* are substituted by *ṭ* and *ḍ* respectively. 7. *Khaṇḍa* becomes *khandu*. 8. *Eva* becomes *je* and *ji*. 9. *Bhū*, when not preceded by *pṛa*, etc., is changed to *bho*. 10. *Bhū* remains as it is before *kṛta*, the suffix of the indeclinable past participle. 11. *Vraḥ* is substituted by *vañja*. 12. *Vīśh* is changed to *varha*. 13. The rest is in accordance with usage. 14. Now we speak of the *Upanāgaraka* variety of

Apabhramśa 15. It is an admixture of Nāgaraka and Vrāṇaḍa. 16. The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Apabhramśa have imperceptible differences from the above varieties and these are to be ascertained from popular usage. [Of. same thing in XX, 18.] 17. [The meaning of this Sūtra is not clear.] 18. Vaidarbhi is characterised by the frequent use of the *svārthika* suffix *ulla* (Rām. *alla*). [The feminine forms like *vaidarbhi* would suggest that these are actually Vibhāsā and not Apabhramśa which would require forms like *vaidarbha*. Note also the word *bhāṣā* in S. 23 below. According to Rām., an Apabh. dialect was considered a Vibh. when it was employed in dramas.] 19. The Lāṭī is rich in interjections used to address persons. 20. The Auṛī(?) is characterised by the frequent use of the suffixes *ṭ* and *o*. 21. The Kaikeyī is characterised by the repetition of words(?). 22. The Gaudī is characterised by the use of many compounds(?). 25. In the way shown above, the dialects of Dhakka (Dacca?), Vakkara (mod. Makran called Vagrānta in the *Saktiśaṅgama Tantra*, or Barbara, or Vakkana?), Kuntala, Pāndya and Simhala are to be ascertained or described.

Chapter XIX.—*Kaikeya Paisāchika*.

अथातो(त): पैशाचिकम् ॥१॥ तल कैकयः(यम्) ॥२॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योर्विकृतिः ॥३॥  
अयुक्त(ना\*)ज्जडदवानां कचटतपा बहुलम् ॥४॥ घमदधमानां खड्गठथफाः ॥५॥ कलचट-  
ठतथपफ(१\*)ः प्रकृत्या ॥६॥ कलादीनां चान्यत्न(?) ॥७॥ यो नः ॥८॥ युक्तानां विकर्षः ॥९॥  
न्यज्ञयानां ज्ञः ॥१०॥ पस्म(क्ष्म)सूक्ष्मयोः पक्ष्मसुखमौ ॥११॥ र्यस्य रिभः ॥१२॥ वस्य  
(पक्ष्मस्य?) पिक्का ॥१३॥ पृथिव्याः प्र(पुं)धुमी ॥१४॥ विस्मयस्य पिष्ठमभ्रं ॥१५॥ गृहस्य  
किहकम् ॥१६॥ तिरश्च तिरिभ्रं च ॥१७॥ हृदयस्य हिरपकम् ॥१८॥ इवस्य पिव ॥१९॥  
कचित् कुपचिः ॥२०॥ क्वा त्वं ॥२१॥ टाढसिडसिडिडु राज्ञो राचिर्वा ॥२२॥ यूय(१\*)-  
वयमर्थे तुप्फे अप्फे च ॥२३॥ भवतेहोहुवौ ॥२४॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Paisāchika dialects. 2. There is one among these dialects which is called Kaikeya. 3. It is derived from Sanskrit and the Sauraseni dialect. 4. *K*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* are generally substituted for simple *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* respectively. 5. *Kh*, *chh*, *ṭh*, *th* and *ph* are substituted for *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh* and *bh*. 6. *K*, *kh*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *t*, *th*, *p* and *ph* are not modified. 7. But in some cases they are elided(?) [This Sūtra is not clear.] 8. *N* is substituted by *n*. 9. Conjunct consonants are separated by vowel-augmentation. 10. *Nya*, *ṇa* and *ṇy* are changed to *ṇṇ*. 11. *Pakṣhma* becomes *pakhama*; *sukṣhma* becomes *sukhama*. 12. *Rya* becomes *ria*. 13. *Pakva* (?) becomes *pikkā*.

14. *Prithivī* becomes *prathumī* (*puthumi* ? Märk. *puthumi*.) 15. *Vismaya* becomes *pisumaam*. 16. *Griha* becomes *kiṭṭakam*. 17. *Tirāśchā* becomes *tirāmcha*. 18. *Hridaya* is changed to *hirapakam*. [Märk. and Hem. *hitapakam*.] 19. *Iva* is changed to *piva*. 20. *Kvachit* is changed to *kupachi*. 21. The absolutive suffix *ktivā* (also *lyap*) is substituted by *tūnam*. 22. The word *rājan* is changed to *rāchi*; optionally before *ṣā* (inst. sing.), *ṇasi* (abl. sing.), *ṇas* (gen. sing.) and *ṇi* (loc. sing.). Ex. *rāchind*, *raṇṇā*; *rāchini*, *raṇṇi*; *rāchini*, *raṇṇi*. 23. *Tupphe* is used in the sense of *yūyam* and *apphe* in the sense of *vayam*. [Some authorities have *tupphā* and *appha*.] 24. The root *bhū* is changed to *hu* and *huva*.

### Chapter XX.—*Saurasena and Other Paisāchikas.*

अथ शौरसेनम् ॥१॥ रो लः ॥२॥ वसोः शः ॥३॥ चुर्व्यकृतालम्ब्यः ॥४॥ क्षस्य रकः ॥५॥  
 च्क्षस्य चः ॥६॥ थस्य रतः ॥७॥ स्तस्य षाविकृतिः षः (Märk. स्थाविकृतेः षस्य रतः ) ॥८॥  
 स्तस्य थ इत्येके ॥९॥ पिबतेः सन्तः (पिबः? Rām. पिबन्तिपि पिबतेः) ॥१०॥ कृतमृतठ(ग)-  
 तानां कडमडगर(ड)ः ॥११॥ अधुनादेरहुणादयः ॥१२॥ इराक्षेपे ॥१३॥ अदन्तात्  
 सोरेत् ॥१४॥ आ(अ)मो वा ॥१५॥ लुक् च ॥१६॥ शेषं प्राकृतवच ॥१७॥ पाष्वालादयः  
 खल्य(ल्य)मेदा लोक्तः ॥१८॥ लकारस्य रेफः ॥१९॥ शेषं पूर्ववन्नयेम् ॥२०॥

### Translation

1. Now we speak of the Saurasena Paisāchika. 2. *R* is substituted by *l*. [Cf. Hem 's Chūlkā Paisāchī.] 3. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *ṣ*. 4. Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāshṭrī and Sauraseni). 5. *Ksh* is changed to *ṣk* (Märk. *chchh*). 6. *Chchh* (Saur. modification of *ksh*, etc.) is changed to *sch*. 7. *Th* (Saur. modification of *sth*, etc.) is changed to *ṣt*. [Märk. *prāpta* = *paṭṭe*, *stri* = *ṣṭṭhi*.] 8. *Shṭ*, derived from the root *sthā*, is changed to *ṣt*. Ex. *tishṭhatī* = Saur. *ciṣṭhatī* = *chṣṭatī*. 9. *Sto* is changed to *tha*, according to some authorities. 10. *Pib* is changed to *piā* (?). Ex. *pianṭi* (?). 11. *Kṛta*, *mṛta* and *gata* are respectively changed to *kaḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa*. 12. *Adhunā*, etc., are changed to *ahunā*, etc. 13. *Ira* (or, *iṣ*) is used to express *ākshepa* or reproach. 14. *Su* (nom. sing.) is substituted by *e* after words ending in *a*. Ex. *mānuṣe*. 15. *Am* (acc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *e* after nouns of the *a*-stem. 16. The declensional affix *am* (also *su*) is sometimes elided. 17. The rest is as in

Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī; but according to some, Māgadhi) 18. The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Pāṣāchika have imperceptible differences to be ascertained from popular usage. [Cf. same thing in XVIII, 16.] 19. In the Pāñchāla Pāṣāchika, *l* is substituted by *r*. [According to Mārka. and Rām., *r* becomes *l* and *l* becomes *r*. In Rām's Gauḍa Pāṣāchika, either *r* or *l* may be used for *r* or *l*.] 20. In other respects, it follows the one already discussed (Sauraseni Pāṣāchika?)

### HEMACHANDRA ON APABHRAMSA

*Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana, Ch. VIII, Sec. iv, 329-446.*

The rule खरायां खराः प्रायोऽपभ्रंशौ (IV, 329) says that in Apabhramśa any vowel may be substituted for any other vowel generally. The word प्रायः in the rule suggests that the Mahārāṣṭrī forms may be used in spite of a specific rule. The rule शौरसेनीवत् (IV, 446) also allows Sauraseni forms. Note also the rule लिङ्गमतन्त्रम् (IV, 445) which says that in Apabhramśa often one gender is used for another. Note further that many of these characteristics are sometimes noticed in Epigraphic Prakrit.

**Declension of Nouns** (IV, 330-54) (1) देव (masc.) ॥ १—देव, देवा, देवु देवो । देव, देवा ॥ २—देव, देवा, देवु । देव, देवा । ३—देवे, देवें, देवेण, [ देविण, देवि ] । देवहिं, देवेहिं ॥ ४—देवहे, देवहु । देवहुं ॥ ५, ६—देव, देवधु, देवस्तु, देवहो, देवह । देव, देवहं ॥ ७—देवे, देवि । देवहिं ॥ Voc देव, देवा, देवु, देव । देव, देवा, देवहो ॥ (2) गिरि (masc.) ॥ १, २—गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी ॥ ३—गिरिणं, गिरिण, गिरिं । गिरिहिं ॥ ४—गिरिहे । गिरिहुं ॥ ५, ६—गिरि, गिरिहे । गिरि, गिरिहं, गिरिहुं ॥ ७—गिरिहि । गिरिहुं ॥ Voc. गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी, गिरिहो ॥ (3) साधु (masc.) ॥ To be declined exactly like गिरि ॥ (4) कमल (neut.) ॥ १, २—कवल, कवला, कवलु । कवल, कवला, कवलाहं, कवलाहं ॥ (5) वारि, (neut.) ॥ १, २—वारि, वारी । वारि, वारी, वारिहं, वारीहं ॥ (6) मधु (neut.) ॥ १, २—मधु, मधु । मधु, मधु, मधुहं, मधुहं ॥ The rest of the neuter nouns is to be declined like the masc. Neuter nouns ending in the *svārthika* suffix *ka* (=Prakrit *a*) will have the suffix, when followed by nom. sing. and acc. sing. case-affixes, substituted by *um*. सुखकम्=सुखकुम् ॥ The rest should be declined like कमल ॥ (7) मुग्धा (fem.) ॥ १, २—मुद्द, मद्दा । मुद्दाउ, मुद्दाओ ॥ ३—मुद्दए, [ मुद्दहं ] । मुद्दहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—मुद्दहे, [ मुद्दहि ] । मुद्दहु ॥ ७—मुद्दहि । मुद्दहि ॥ Voc. .

मुद, मुदा । मुद, मुदा, मुदहो, मुदाहो ॥ Feminine words ending in i (e.g. मति), in ī (e.g. तरणी ), in u (e.g. वेनु ) and in ū (e.g. वृक्ष ) are declined like मुग्धा ॥

**Declension of Pronouns** (IV, 355-81) Hem's additional rules regarding the declension of pronouns in Apabhramśa give the following forms.

(1) The base सर्व is optionally changed to साह ॥ सर्वैः=साहु, सव्वु ॥ (2) इदम् is substituted by आय before case-affixes; but in the neuter gender, its nom. sing. as well as acc. sing. form is इसु ॥ (3) किम् is optionally substituted by काह् and कण्ण (alternately by किं) ॥ ५—कहाँ, किहे ॥ ६—optionally कासु (fem. कहे) ॥ ७—कहिं ॥ (4) यद् ॥ १, २—धुं (optional) ॥ ५—जहाँ ॥ ६—optionally जासु (fem. जहे) ॥ ७—जहिं ॥ (5) तद् ॥ १, २—तं (optional) ॥ ५—तहाँ ॥ ६—optionally तासु (fem. तहे) ॥ ७—तहिं ॥ (6) एतद् ॥ १, २—एहो (masc., एह fem.), एहु (neut.) । एइ ॥ (7) अदस् ॥ १, २—Pl. ओइ ॥ Cf. एकहिं, अग्रहिं, etc., in loc sing. (8) तुष्मद् ॥ १—तुहुं । तुम्हे, तुम्हइ ॥ २—पइ, तइ । तुम्हे, तुम्हइ ॥ ३—पइ, तइ । तुम्हेहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—तउ, तुज्झ, तुप्र, [तुहु] । तुम्हइ ॥ ७—पइ, तइ । तुम्हासु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—हउं । अम्हे, अम्हइ ॥ २—मइ । अम्हे, अम्हइ ॥ ३—मइ । अम्हेहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—महु, मज्झु । अम्हइ ॥ ७—मइ । अम्हासु ॥

**Conjugation** (IV, 382-88). In regard to conjugation, Apabhramśa follows the so-called Mahārāshṭrī with the following additional conjugational suffixes. Present—1st pers. उं । हुं ॥ 2nd pers. हि । हु ॥ 3rd pers. ० । हिं ॥ कुर्वन्ति=करहिं । रोदिषि=रअहि । इच्छथ=इच्छहु । कर्षामि=कड्डउं । यामः=जाहुं ॥ Imperative—2nd pers sing. इ, उ, ए ॥ स्मर=सुमरि ; विलम्बस्व=विलम्बु ; कुरु=करि ॥ Future—स in addition to हि, स्त, etc. ॥ भविष्यति=होसइ ॥ Cf. IV, 389-95. क्रिये=कीसु । प्रभवति=पहुअइ । ब्रू=ब्रुव । ब्रूत=ब्रूवह ; उक्ता=ओप्पिण्णु, ओप्पि । ब्रज्=बुज । बुजइ ; बुजेप्पि, बुजेप्पिण्णु । दश्=प्रस्त । प्रसदि । मह=एहइ । तज्=ओज्झ । संतप्त=फलक्किण । अनुगम्य=अम्भडवंचिउ । शल्यायते=खुडुअइ । गर्जति=खुडुअइ । तिष्ठन्ति=थन्ति । आक्राम्यते=चम्पिअइ । शब्दायते=खुडुअइ or खुडुअइ ॥

**Phonetic Changes, Substitutes, Suffixes etc.** क, ख, त, थ, प, and फ when they are single and non-initial and occur after a vowel are often changed respectively to ग, घ, द, ध, ब and भ ॥ ० करं=गर । सुखेण=सुखिं । रापयम्=सबधु । कथितम्=कथिहु ।

सफलम्=सभलउ' । Simple and intervocal म is changed to nasalised व (i.e. वँ) ॥ कमलम्=कवँलु ; अमरः=अर्वर ॥ र as second member of a conjunct is optionally dropped. In some cases र is substituted for a member of the conjunct. व्यास=वास ॥ The final consonant of the words आपद्, सपद् and विपद् becomes इ ॥ आवइ ॥ कथम्=केम [केवँ ; cf. Hindi कँपो], किम् [किवँ ; cf. Aśokan किंम > colloq *kamṁṁyā*, *kambāyā* in C Bengal], किह, किध ॥ यथा=जेम [जेवँ], जिम[जिवँ], जिह, जिध ॥ तथा=तेम [तेवँ], तिम [तिवँ], तिह, तिध ॥ ग्राहश=जेहु, जइस (cf Hindi जैसा) । तादश=तेहु, तइस । कीदश=केहु, कइस । ईदश=एहु, अइस ॥ यत्त=येत्थु, जत्तु, जेतहे । तत्त=तेत्थु, तत्तु, तेतहे ॥ कुत्त=कोत्थु, केतहे । अत्त=एत्थु, एतहे ॥ यावत्=जाम [जावँ], जाऊ, जामहिं, जेवड, जेतुल । तावत्=ताम [तावँ], ताउ, तामहिं ; तेवड, तेत्तुल ॥ इयत्त=एवड, एत्तुल ॥ कियत्त=केवड, केत्तुल ॥ परस्पर=अवरोप्पर ॥ ए and ओ, as well as उ, हं, हिं and हुं standing at the end of a metrical foot, are pronounced short. Mahārāṣṭri म्हु (< Sans घ्म, etc.) =म्भ ॥ गिम्भो ॥ अन्यादश=अभाइस, अवराइस ॥ प्रायः=प्राउ, प्राइव, प्राइम्ब(०वँ), पगिगम्ब(०वँ) ॥ अन्यथा=अनु, अन्नह ॥ कुतः=कउ, कहन्तिहु (cf colloq. *koḥāntiyā* in Central Bengal) ॥ ततः, तदा=तो ॥ एवम्=एम्ब ; परम्=पर ; समम्=समाणु ; ध्रुवम्=ध्रुवु ; मा=मं ; मनाक्=मणाउ ॥ किल=किर ; अथवा=अहवइ, अहवा ; दिवा=दिवे or दिवि ; सह=सहु ; न हि=नाहिं ॥ पश्चात्=पच्छइ ; एवमेव=एम्बइ (cf colloq. *emmāy*, *embāyā* in Central Bengal ; Aśokan हे'मेव) ; इदानीम्=एम्बहिं ; एव=जि ; प्रत्युत=पच्छलिउ ; इतः=एतहे ॥ विषया=वुभ ; उक्त=वुत्त ; वर्त्मन्=विच्च' ॥ शीघ्र=वहिष्ण । कलह (Prakṛito-Sans. भ्रकट; cf. NIA भ्रगडा)=घड्छल । पर्वत=डोङ्गर । अस्पृश्यसंसर्ग=विद्याल । भय=द्रवक्क । आत्मीय=अप्पण । हृष्टि=हे हि । गाढ=निच्छट । साधारण=सड्डल । कौतुक=कोड्ड, कुड्ड । क्रीडा=खेड्ड । रम्य=रवण । अद्भुत=ठकरि । हे सखि=हेहि । पृथक् पृथक्=जुअ'जुअ । मूढ=नालिअ, वड । नव=नवख । अवस्कन्द=दडवड । यदि=खुड्ड । ०सम्बन्धीय=केर, तण । मा भैषीः=मम्भीसा । यद्यदृष्टं तत्तत्=जाइदिआ । शब्दानुकरणे—हुड्ड, घुएट, कसरक(?) ॥ चेष्टानुकरणे—घुए उड्डइस ॥ अनर्थकनिपात—घइ', खाइ' ॥ तादर्थ्ये—[कृते=]केहिं, तेहिं, रेसि, रेसिं, तणेण ॥ पुनः=पुणु ; विना=विणु ॥ अवश्यम्=अवसे', अवस ॥ एकशः=एकसि ॥ The *svārthika* क *pratyaya* is elided before the *svārthika pratyayas* अ, ड (cf Beng. ट, टा, टि) and उल्ल । पथिकः=पन्थि । दोषाः=दोसडा । कुडी=कुड्डो ॥ Also the combinations of these *pratyayas*,

डअ, उल्लड, उल्लडअ are used as *svārthika*. हृदयम्=हिअडउं । बाहबलं=बाहुबलुल्लडा, बाहुबलुल्लडउ ॥ The above *pratyayas* take *i* and *iū* in the feminine gender. गौरी=गोरडी । धूलिका=धूलडिआ ॥ युष्मदीय=तुहार (त्वदीय=तुहार ; युष्मदीय=तुम्हार?) ; अस्मदीय=अम्हार ; मदीय=महार ॥ त्व, ता=तण, पण । तव्य=इएव्वउं, एव्वउं, एवा ॥ मर्तव्य=मरिएव्वउं, सोढव्य=सहेव्वउं, खपितव्य=सोएवा ॥ क्त्वा=इ, इउ, इवि, अवि ॥ मारयित्वा=मारि, भङ्क्त्वा=भजिउ, चुम्बित्वा=चुम्बिवि, विच्छोव्य=विछोडवि ॥ Also क्त्वा=एप्पि, एप्पिणु, एवि, एविणु ॥ जित्वा=जेप्पि, दत्वा=देप्पिणु, लात्वा=लेवि, ध्यात्वा=फ्हाएविणु ॥ गत्वा=गम्पिणु, गम्पि ॥ तुमुन्=एवं, अण, अणहं, अणहिं ॥ दातुं=देवं, कर्तुं=करण, भोक्तुं=भुज्जणहं, ०हिं ॥ तृन्=अणअ ॥ मारयिता=मारणउ ॥ इव=नं, नउ, नाइ, नावइ, जणि, जणु ॥ पैतृकी=बप्पिकी ॥

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- P. 1—L. 2. Read—Introductory Nöte,  
 „ —L. 10. Read—the origin of  
 „ —L. 30. Read—type of the *a*-stem
- P. 3—L. 7. Read—Lakshmīdhara (16th century)  
 „ —L. 8. Read—Simpharāja (14th century according to Winternitz; but may be later than Bhaṭṭojī Dīkshita of the 17th century, according to Kieth)  
 „ L. 13. Read—of the court of king Vikramāditya
- P. 4—L. 14. Read—works are lost  
 „ —L. 22. Read—3rd century B.C.  
 „ —FN. 2. Add—See *infra*, p. 97.
- P. 5—L. 2. Note on “Kātyāyana”—See *infra*, p. 54.  
 „ —L. 11. Note on “this time”—Cf. the account given by Purushottama, a contemporary of Hemachandra, in the Appendix, p. 106 ff. Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaadarśa*, I, 32-38, which probably belongs to the 7th century A.D., characterises Apabhraṃśa as the speech of the cowherds and others, and mentions it separately from Prākṛita of which Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and “similar others” are referred to. Daṇḍin mentions Paisāchī as the *bhūta-bhāṣā*.
- P. 7—L. 23 Read—Elision of consonants is
- P. 9—L. 7. Omit—नूनं, ननु=णं ॥
- P. 10—L. 14. Note on हरिद्रा—Cf. *infra*, II, 30; V, 24.
- P. 11—L. 8. Read—Hem. also  
 „ Ll. 16-17. Omit the sentence beginning with “Ins. इह=इय”, etc.  
 „ —L. 22. Read—उत ओत् तुल्य०



P. 12.—L. 6. Read—(with the doubling of *l*)

„ —L. 30. Read—rules (S. 27-33)

P. 13—L. 3. Read—एकैक=इकीक. Read काले=कलि.

P. 14—L. 1. Read—as also *au*

„ —L. 13. Read—and ऐ becomes इ.

P. 15—L. 5. Read—Metathesis

P. 18—L. 9. Read—*chhaehā*

P. 20—L. 16. Read—due to

P. 22—L. 11. Read—सुख=सूष

P. 23—L. 27. Omit—दोर्मनस्त

P. 26—L. 27. Add—Ins. अमाल्य=आमत

P. 30—L. 15. Read—रालि

P. 31—L. 12. Read—the word *padma*

P. 41—L. 30. Add—Purushottama adds (1V, 10-11) two important rules. समासे पूर्वनिपातानियमः । निषिद्धोऽप षष्ठीसमासः ॥

These features are noticed in Epigraphic Prakrit.

P. 47—L. 30. Read—अप्पाणो

P. 51—L. 6. Read.—कलुना ।

P. 55—L. 19. Add—Hem. has also काला, जाला and ताला respectively in this sense.





**DELHI UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY**